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"THE ENGINEER IN NAVAL WARFARE."

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I.

My attention has been called to a number of papers, which, under the above general title, were published in the May number of the North American Review.

These articles were written with a purpose. It is manifestly their object to present certain opinions for acceptance, and to incline the public mind to a belief in the desirability of certain changes. They proclaim that engineering is now the leading science, and the care and management of steam machinery the leading art, of naval warfare; that seamen are simply a left-over product of the age of sails, who embarrass naval efficiency, but whom no one has yet devised means to get rid of, and that the

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engineer is the "great factor in modern warfare" and must be recognized and honored as such.

These views, if presented only to military men, would need no refutation. They are essentially incorrect, and they are opposed to the principles, practice, and experience of all the navies of the world. But presented to the general reading public—a public for the most part not informed in naval affairs—they are dangerous, so far as their fallacies might gain headway and influence, to the efficiency of the naval service.

I do not take part in the so-called "Line and Staff" controversies of the service, nor adopt the partisan views which sometimes enter into the discussion of measures advocated by one portion of the officers of the navy, and opposed by those of other branches. Having had forty-six years of active service, having reached the highest rank in the navy, and looking forward to retirement within a year, I have no object in contributing to this discussion other than to maintain the efficiency of the navy. With whatever authority the service and experience of a lifetime in our own navy give me—a service varying from that of midshipman in charge of a boat to that of admiral in command of a fleet; an experience including the War of the Rebellion, aided by contact with foreign navies, and improved by the study of foreign naval systems—I shall endeavor to show what the conditions of naval efficiency are, and to what extent and with what uniformity those conditions obtain throughout the navies of the world.

A navy exists for war alone. If peace between nations were definitely assured the navies of the world would be disbanded, their vessels so far as adaptable would be converted to commercial uses, their formidable weapons would be placed in museums, their sailors would embark in other pursuits.

The cost of constructing a modern navy is enormous. A battle-ship costs from three to five millions; a heavy armed cruiser two millions, or more; a gunboat several hundred thousand. Even a torpedo boat—a mosquito of the fleet—costs in the neighborhood of a hundred thousand dollars.

The maintenance of these floating fortresses—the cost of coal and stores, the pay and provisioning of men, the support of dockyards, depots, and hospitals—forms no inconsiderable part of a nation's burdens. And all this expenditure would

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be without excuse were it not that a powerful navy is not only a protection to a country in the event of war, but operates to a very considerable degree as an insurance against war, since nations, like individuals, hesitate to attack a powerful and prepared enemy.

War, then, being the sole object of a navy's existence, its organization and its administration should be controlled entirely by the demands of efficiency when engaged in war, and the number, rank, and duty of officers should be determined by these demands alone. Two conditions of a navy, one for peace and one for war, are inadmissible. A navy may be upon a "peace establishment," when there will be fewer ships in commission, and their crews or complements will be reduced; but the framework for immediate expansion must be maintained intact. The organization must be such that the navy can be rapidly "mobilized," to use a comprehensive military term, without any shock or confusion.

It follows, therefore, that in time of peace the organization, discipline, habits, and spirit of naval life should be such as to meet the exigencies of war. War will unavoidably bring new strains, privations, and responsibilities; but the minor details, the routine, methods, and habitual relations should continue to run in the same channels.

A navy is essentially a military organization in time of war; and therefore it must be essentially a military organization in time of peace. That is, military ideas must be the controlling ideas, the military element must be the predominant element, and the military men who train the crews in warlike exercises, and who in battle will employ and direct all the weapons of offense and defense, must exercise authority and command.

The same conditions obtain in all the navies of the world, and the same principles are everywhere accepted. Those which determine the efficiency of the navy of a republic determine also the efficiency of the navy of a constitutional monarchy, or of that of an absolute monarchy; of the American navy, of the British navy, or of that of Russia. The political organizations of states differ, but the organization of their armed forces is fundamentally the same. Illustrations may therefore be drawn from foreign services with every assurance of their fitness, and precedents may be quoted with confidence. And when the experience of

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our own service is sustained by that of every other modern navy, the conclusions derived therefrom are entitled to the weight of established facts.

The naval engineers maintain that, since steam is now the sole motive power of men-of-war, and is, in addition so largely employed afloat for minor purposes, they should be considered of much more importance, and should be more independent and have more place and authority. In other words, they claim that steam has revolutionized navies, and that the engineer has practically superseded the seaman. The line officers of the navy—the military branch—the officers who have in our own navy as in all other navies, from the time of their origin to the present time, commanded ships and fleets, conducted expeditions, fought battles, and made history, are the seamen or "sailors" referred to in this claim. Drake, Raleigh, Hawke, St. Vincent, De Ruyter, Nelson, Decatur, Perry, Farragut, and Porter, were among the predecessors of the "sailors" whose day is said to have passed, were brilliant ornaments of that profession now said to be abridged by steam.

It is a very narrow and limited mind which sees in a great art one only of its applications. Seamanship has not passed and will not pass. As long as ships float upon the sea there will be sailors in command. Whether as peaceful traders they pursue the highways of ocean commerce, or as armed vessels seek the military control which protects those highways, seamanship will be the art by means of which they are conducted upon their voyages, through which they are made most effective. It is the habit and the knowledge of the sea and of the ship in which one sails. It existed in the galley period. It was not created by sails and it has not been destroyed by steam. It is neither a lost art nor a decaying art, but it is an art of changing application, and its demands now are as great as they ever were. The seaman of any age must understand all the forces with which he has to deal, and in the present day must understand steam. He need not be an expert, practical machinist, but he must know the limitations of steam machinery, and the laws of its care and use.

Naval line officers generally are fully up to the demands of modern seamanship. The line officers of the United States navy are especially well qualified in this respect. They are well grounded at Annapolis in mathematics and natural science, and

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in the application of both to machinery; and the value of their training has been shown by the important part which they have taken in the design and construction of our new ships. The fields of ordnance and torpedo engineering, of electric lighting and ventilation, have been occupied almost exclusively by line officers. Some of them are not only accomplished engineers, but practical machinists. They have fulfilled all the demands of modern seamanship, and have gone far beyond them.

The seaman employs and directs all the forces of the ship which he commands. He employed the rowers of the galley period, the sails of a later age, and he employs the steam of to-day. The engineer manages the engines of a ship; but he manages them at the direction of the seaman on deck, who orders them to be slowed, stopped, backed or run ahead at his own sole discretion and responsibility. Marine engineering has reached an extraordinary development in the transatlantic greyhounds of the present day. Their principal quality is great and sustained speed, but the engineer of the "St. Paul" is as absolutely under the control of the seaman who directs the ship as is the mechanic who runs the engines of a tugboat for two dollars a day. The engineer of any man-of-war from a torpedo boat to a battle-ship is in the same position. It is his business to keep his machinery in good order and to run it as directed. Its employment is entirely in the seaman's hands.

And this is not solely a question of the special fitness of the seaman. It is an inevitable feature of the situation. The engineer is below, where he can see nothing but his engines. If he abandoned his engines and came on deck he would cease to be the engineer.

I have spoken of seamen in general. Seamanship, however, is only one of the necessary qualifications of a naval officer. His other acquirements include all branches of the art of war—discipline, organization, strategy, tactics, and the knowledge of the weapons and resources of war. This comprises in itself a profession whose demands have rapidly multiplied during the last generation.

The development of steam has been great; but the development of weapons and defense has proceeded by leaps and bounds. No discoveries or improvements in machinery have caused among engineers such a readjustment of accepted opinions as line officers

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have been obliged to make since confronted with high powered guns, Harveyized armor, smokeless powder, and high explosives. Constant study, constant experiment, and unwearied effort have been required to adapt the rapidly changing means of naval warfare to their effective use.

This military training and military knowledge are of supreme importance to the purposes of a navy; and the men who make it their profession are in fact as in name the "line" of that organization. In the business of warfare the men who direct the operations of war and handle the weapons of war are those upon whom success in war depends. The duties of those who do not take a distinctly military part, while necessary and important, are adjunct and essentially subordinate.

The man who takes no initiative, determines no issues, however intelligent and trustworthy, plays a subordinate part; and such a man is the naval engineer in battle.

"The value of a ship is no greater than the value of the man who commands her," is practically an axiom among naval men; and this means that the effective employment of the ship is wholly dependent upon the qualities of her captain. This high responsibility falls upon line officers and upon them only. It is true that only one among the line officers of a ship carries that responsibility at any one time, but in the event of his death or disability the next in rank succeeds to the command. A lieutenant in a turret, half blinded by powder smoke, wholly intent upon the rapid service of his guns, may be called away by the information that all his superiors have fallen, and that upon him depends the direction of the ship and the issue of the fight. No such duty does devolve or can devolve upon an engineer. His duty remains the same, and remains subordinate throughout all the phases of the battle.

His position in a naval organization is fixed and limited by these conditions. They are the same in all navies, and the military relations which flow from them are the same. In the British Navy, the Queen's Regulations place the engineers in the "Civil Branch," and specify in clear and unmistakable language the authority over them of the military branch. In continental navies, the sea-going engineers, called with a proper distinction of language "mechanicians," are simply artisans, and are nearly all promoted from the ranks after an experience

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which has rendered them practically expert in the management of marine steam machinery. They are trained as our locomotive engineers are trained.

The engineers in the United States Navy are already better off than in foreign services. They have more pay, more rank, and more official consideration than in other navies; but the difference is one of degree and not one of kind. Their duty determines their position, and it must remain essentially the same.

And in considering this position it must not be forgotten that the care and management of steam machinery afloat is not "engineering." Engineering is a liberal and progressive profession, and finds its exercise in design and construction. When the engines are built and placed in a ship they are turned over to the mechanician or engine driver, a trained artisan skilled in practical work, but not necessarily or generally a man of liberal education. The former is a profession; the latter is a trade.

The engineer, as an engineer, does not follow the ship away from the dock-yard. If he takes charge of her engines afloat, he ceases to practise his profession of engineering, and becomes an engine driver. It is a defect in our own naval organization that the same class of men perform the two classes of duties; that engineers, capable of good work in their profession, are sent to sea to do as a matter of habit and routine the work of artisans. There should be a division of duties, and engineering should be placed in its proper position, as it is in continental navies, where men of high professional capacity do little or no sea service, and in fact constitute a different branch. The men who go to sea in charge of engines should be mainly practical men—skilled machinists—who would not rise above warrant rank, the class of men who run the engines of the merchant service, even of the great passenger steamers, and who are found in the engine-rooms of the British, French, Italian, and German navies.

Such a change would not only be good administration in itself, but would relieve the navy from the discontent now felt by highly educated young men who go to sea in the position of engineer of the watch.

This position, I repeat in conclusion, depends upon its duties, and its occupant cannot rise above them, no matter what his intelligence, education, or professional value. At sea he is an

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engine driver with no demands and no duties beyond those imposed upon the practical mechanician in the same place.

J. E. WALKER.

II.

ALL questions that arise among men have a tendency to become involved, in the course of discussion, with a cloud of details, sometimes germane to the matter in hand, sometimes entirely foreign to it, but conducing to withdraw attention from the central facts, usually few and simple, which are really decisive of the matter in hand.

A navy is, first and last, a military body of which the distinguishing characteristic is extreme mobility. This characteristic derives, primarily, from the element in which navies act—the water—which lends itself with peculiar facility to the purposes of movement. The element remaining constant, this statement is true of all ages, the particular motive force in use at any era being simply incidental; whether it be the wind, steam, electricity—which the future may bring—or men's muscles, in the handling of oars, which, in the case of military navies, was the historical antecedent of wind and steam alike. Mobility is the permanent characteristic, the end or object in view; the power which gives motion, the means or method of obtaining motion, is transient—of one sort to-day, of another to-morrow. Results, not methods, are the considerations which concern practical men of action. It is the mobility, and not how the mobility at a particular period is got, that constitutes the peculiar value of navies.

Mobility, the power of useful movement, resolves into two constituents. There is the motive force, the power to move at all, whatever be the source from which it springs—wind, steam, electricity, or animal force, as with oars, and vehicles drawn by horses; and there is the directive power, which, and which alone, insures that the motion, instead of being aimless, or even harmful, shall be useful, intelligent in its action, and subject to necessary changes, such as turning or stopping to avoid injury. A steamer under full power abandoned by the helmsman, a carriage in mid-career drawn by spirited horses and abandoned by the driver, are illustrations of motive power abandoned by directive power.

These two components of mobility are logically distinct. They can be separated in idea; and although they must be combined,

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unified, in any moving object, unless destruction is to ensue, yet it is possible, and may be necessary, to separate them for practical consideration. Take for instance the unit man, regarded as a moving object. The power of his legs is one thing, the sight of his eyes is another; one is the motive force, the other the directive, both administered by the same person. Yet in that same person they are divided, separable in thought and act, as any man will find who with undiminished bodily strength attempts to walk in dangerous places of a dark night. His motive efficiency has been divided; the power of motion remains, the directive power is withdrawn. He is the illustration of the steamer abandoned by the helmsman—or, rather, by him who sums up all the directive forces, the man in charge of the deck.

Historically it has happened, for a period comparatively brief, as the world's life goes, that in the unit ship the control of the two elements of mobility could be combined in the same man. The wind, as the source of power, compelled the means whereby it was utilized, the spars and sails, to be exterior to the body of the ship, and there they could be embraced under the control of the same eye, which scanned at once the direction the ship was taking, and the signs of the weather, which dictated the management of the motive enginery. It was not so with the galley, where the position of the toiling oarsmen, their backs turned to the direction the ship was taking, symbolized vividly the sphere to which the motive power must be relegated, when the immediate management of it was forced to leave the deck. That period arrived necessarily with the steam engine. Constructional considerations alone, the distribution of weights, would have enforced it; the exigencies of military navies make it yet more necessary to sink to the lowest depths of the ship that blind and dumb enginery which can move, and can do nothing more. For its security, it, which cannot protect itself, must be protected by submersion, and by accumulation of artificial protection in the shape of armor. The engineer and the engines must be made safe to the utmost of human precautions, must be withdrawn to the utmost from exposure to military hazard, because they cannot defend themselves, and because power to move is essential to the efficiency of a ship of war. For this reason, protection, in the strict sense of the word, must be withdrawn for the most part from the combatant force, because guns, in the main, can and

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should defend themselves. Offence is the best defence, and in the due study of that simple principle will be found the true solution of the disposition of armor between the batteries and the engines. Protection, except for the directing force—the commanding officer and the helm—will have to be withdrawn in large part from above.

The quarrel between the members of the body is an old story. No nation, no community probably, exists without parties; they are perhaps the necessity, certainly a concomitant, of healthy life. The reconcilement in any body can only be reached by a candid recognition of the proper functions of each member. The head may not say to the feet, "I have no need of you"; but for all that we don't undertake to see with our feet. No combination of persons can act effectually, unless some provision is made whereby unity of action can be insured; and in matters of great moment, even in civil life, executive action can only be strong by being unified in one head. All attempts at a many-headed executive, meant as a provision against tyranny, have resulted in discord and feebleness. Two cannot walk together, unless they be agreed; and if they disagree, there can be no unity, unless it be clearly understood that in such case one commands and the other obeys.

In the unit ship we have side by side the two elements, the motive force and the directive force, which, taken together, constitute the efficiency of the ship as ship. When they fail to agree—and that dispute, seemingly radical, does arise is notorious—upon what principle shall unity be preserved? Shall the eyes, or shall the feet, dictate what shall be the direction of the moving body?

The argument so far has been confined to the consideration of the ship in general, without special reference to the naval ship as a military organization. Before touching upon that, and so leaving the first part of the subject, it is desirable to meet the statement often advanced, that the introduction of steam has reduced the functions and the responsibility of the officer in charge of the deck, be he the captain or his youngest lieutenant. The statement is absolutely erroneous. A particular kind of accidents has been eliminated, skin-deep injuries of splitting sails and carrying away spars, but beyond that steam has not diminished, but rather increased, the danger and the scope of accidents

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at sea. Steam has facilitated movement, and movement quickened has increased as well as diminished danger. Seamen are by it not only tempted, but compelled, to incur new risks—to curtail the margin of safety—a process which entails the necessity of greater skill, greater readiness, and precision of handling. No safer vessel at this moment floats the sea, as against the dangers of the sea, then the sailing ship-of-war of recent date, excluding the smallest classes. From the sloop-of-war to the ship-of-the-line, with average care, they were safe in all kinds of weather, while the danger of fatal collision was for them practically non-existent. The great danger of going to sea now is collision, whether with other ships or with the shore, and—whatever constructors may accomplish in the way of minimizing consequences—for the avoidance of collision the man in the engine-room has no more to do, beyond obeying signals from the deck, than a man ashore. All depends upon the watchfulness, the intelligence, and the presence of mind of the man on deck—the repository for the moment of the directive force. This consideration, important in all ships, is tenfold so for ships of war, for all great naval influence depends upon the power of huge ships of war to move in close order and concerted action, the changes incident to which carry a constant and inevitable risk of collision. Safety in such movements depends almost wholly on the man on deck, who sees and orders, and to a wholly inferior degree upon the one who merely obeys signals, the reasons for which he cannot know.

Turning now from the merely nautical side of the question, we shall touch the military side of a ship-of-war very briefly because there is a superficial admission that the efficiency of every military unit—army, regiment, fleet, ship-of-war—however composite in its general make-up, depends upon command being centred in one man, who is responsible to none below him, and who must receive unquestioning obedience. The admission, I say, is superficial, by which I do not mean that it is feigned, but that it does not fully understand, for it sees, recognizes, and admits unity, not in the *power* of command which is represented in one individual, but only in the *person* of him who is the permanent representative. It recognizes the captain, but resents the executive officer and the officer of the watch. The spirit, however, is one. However honest in its denials, the objection lies equally against the

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captain's authority, and historically has spoken against it. The musty files of our own navy contain the record of disputes as to how far a commanding officer could control one of the subordinate bodies constituting his command, and in the British Navy, at the same period, the question of the captain's authority over a class of soldiers on board for the purposes of the ship was brought to a direct issue—the necessity for unity eliciting the strenuous support of Nelson and St. Vincent, the two greatest admirals Great Britain has had. The same repugnance to the demands of military organization appears again in the papers in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of May last, which have necessitated the present articles. "The naval engineer has urged that military routine, which may be necessary for a marine guard, cannot be applied to the management of the fire-room force."* "There should be extended to the navy the system of the merchant marine, which gives engineers immunity from the interference of mates on deck,"†—*i. e.*, from the officer of the watch.

The difficulty proceeds from a confusion of thought. The unity of a military organization lies not in the *person* of him who is at its head, but in the *power* which he possesses, and of which he is in general the representative. Were it otherwise, detached service would be impossible; power would be inseparable from the person, and where he could not be, power would lapse and anarchy supervene. The power of the captain is not in his own person, any more than that of a lieutenant is in his. True the captain's authority carries with it a certain position and functions, which he cannot divest himself of nor transfer to another; but his power, and that of the lieutenants in their sphere, and of the engineers in theirs, are alike derived, as is the power of the President of the United States himself. It is the kind of the power, and not the receptacle in which it reposes, which is the essential factor. In the state the civil power is supreme; within a military organization the military power is supreme. In the special military organization known as the navy, the directive power and the military power must, from the nature of the case as set forth, go together. The ship must be guided and she must be fought. They who fight must guide; there rests power. Unity also demands that organization and administration, the essential precedents of good fighting, remain in the same hands.

* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, May, 1896, p. 518. † *Ibid.*, p. 545.

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In any living organization the supreme power never dies. The King never dies; and against the possibility of the President dying we have made an elaborate provision, which sufficiently speaks for the danger it seeks to avoid. But in the slow moving action of the huge organisms that we call nations and governments, there is time enough for Kings and Presidents to sleep, to be off guard; whereas, in the rapid movements of ships, and the frequent sudden vicissitude of sea-life, the captain—the captain's *power*—cannot sleep; it is plain to say his *person* must. No more than the proverbial switch-tender can he, as a habit, be on duty twenty hours out of the twenty-four. Hence arises the necessity for the watch officer, who is in charge of the deck, and vested while so with all the captain's power for the conduct of that which goes on on deck, or pertains to the direction. He holds this control not because he is the captain or lieutenant, by grade and title, but because of the office he is then filling. Is this considered an extravagant claim—unlimited? It is not, because all military power, however absolute in its essence and claim to obedience, is limited strictly by law, responsibility to which holds in check every person invested with it. From censure to dismissal from the service is the range of penalty, for any military officer who oversteps the limits which law has laid down to control his use of a power which is otherwise absolute.

And as it is on deck, so it is in the engine-room. The man in charge there, himself in his sphere, exercises a control as absolute as the captain and the officer of the watch—like them absolute, like them limited. But there are two on duty at the same time—the deck officer and the engine officer, the directive and the motive forces. The unity of result demands that they be not independent. One must be the superior, and it must be the one who has charge of the directive force, as that which is the more essential to the safety and government of the vessel; not because the one man is superior to the other man, but because the one power is more important than the other.

From the same confusion of thought between the person and the power arises the claim—preposterous to line officers—that the titles of the line are in some way essential to the authority and dignity of engineer officers. A captain's authority rests upon the power necessary to the commander of a ship, whatever he be called. The deck officer's rests not upon the title he bears,

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lieutenant or what-not, but upon the duty laid upon his shoulders and the power needed for its discharge. Similarly, that of the engineer is conditioned upon the duties he has to fulfil. To call him a lieutenant does not help matters in the least, for the lieutenant's authority does not depend upon his title. If, however, the titles, which in the process of years have come to designate certain duties of the directive officers, are sought for those who manipulate the motive forces on the ground of the latter's dignity, the reply is simple. The republican idea knows nothing of titles, except as convenient names which designate duties. It would be quite as fitting to call a senator of the United States a duke or an earl for the sake of his dignity, as to call an engineer a lieutenant or a captain for the sake of his. An engineer is called an engineer because he has to do with engines; to call him a lieutenant simply obscures his functions. The little glamour that in some eyes seems to hang round the mere titles, admiral, captain, lieutenant, etc., is due simply to the fact that they have a somewhat long historical derivation—something of the venerableness of years. The engine is a new comer: it has brought its own nomenclature, including that of those who run it.

A. T. MAHAN.

III.

HAVING commanded three of our modern vessels, I feel that I may contribute my mite towards a fair understanding of the question brought prominently to the public notice by certain articles published in the May number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

An engineer officer of the highest rank gives his views with great freedom as to the defects in the military organization of navies, especially of our own, and the changes which must take place lest they be found wanting in the hour of trial. This able man, gifted as he certainly is, who ought to know thoroughly any subject that he writes about, has never served one day on board a modern vessel of war; yet he tells us that the navies of the world may be put right by simply increasing the number of engineers, and giving them the titles of officers of whose duties they have neither part nor knowledge; and he asserts that this is an imperative reform—the one thing necessary to efficiency.

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His demands are seconded by several professors engaged in teaching mechanical engineering in schools and colleges. They agree with Engineer-in-Chief Melville as to the necessity of his remedy, but they find also another one desirable to repair the evils, which, as they can plainly see from their desks, are demoralizing the navy. Their remedy is government aid to the colleges which they represent, and government appointments to their graduates, who will, they assume, have great merit as marine engineers without ever having seen the inside of a ship's engine-room, and a high sense of military discipline without ever having felt its restrictions or exercised its responsibilities.

The three modern ships which I have commanded at different times—the "Yorktown," "New York," and "Indiana"—have received uniform commendation. The records made by the first two demonstrated their efficiency in all departments. This was true of them in the highest sense, and it will be equally true of the "Indiana," our first great battle-ship, when reasonable time and experience shall have familiarized officers and men with her qualities and capacities, and have corrected the mistakes made by people who do not go to sea.

The "Yorktown" steamed from New York to San Francisco, stopping for some time at Valparaiso on important service. Beyond the constant sea-sickness of the Chief Engineer our difculties arose without exception, from either the ignorance or the carelessness of the shore engineers. Boilers were not protected by zincs, their tubes were pitted, the distillers were incapable of doing the work for which they were designed; yet we did, on board ship, make things go, and the ship was always ready, efficient, and happy. The feeling between line and engineers was one of respect and regard. The vessel was afterwards flagship of the Behring Sea Patrol Fleet, and did her work to the entire satisfaction of everyone, so far as I know, from President Harrison down.

My second command, the "New York," has not had, in my opinion, her superior in any service for efficiency. In the beginning her distilling plant was inadequate, her condenser tubes were wrong, and other small neglects of the shore engineers gave us more or less trouble; but we overcame them all without giving line titles to the engineer officers, or changing their relation to the military organization. They settled down to their work under their able

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chief, were happy, contented, and efficient. Her full-speed trials showed clearly the efficient condition of her engine department, and a further test was her long cruise as Admiral Meade's flagship, when accurate handling of engines was uniformly demanded. Her run from New York to Kiel, touching at Southampton and Copenhagen, was made at high speed, and without once stopping the engines to repair. When inspected at half-past one o'clock in the morning without previous notice by the German Emperor, her condition received unqualified praise from him and the able officers of his staff. Naval representatives of all nations at the great Kiel review, looking keenly for defects, were able only to admire in every particular. Later, in England she was visited by representatives of the Admiralty and other officers of high rank and much experience. All without exception commended her heartily, remarking only upon what seemed to them the large number of commissioned engineers in her complement. This military estimate by military men of a man-of-war's efficiency may with confidence be set against the opinions of engineers, either naval or civil, who "stick to their desks and never go to sea."

The battleship "Indiana," my present command, promises to equal the others in efficiency when minor defects of construction and equipment have been overcome. These are to be expected in a pioneer vessel of a new type, and the larger and more powerful the vessel—*i. e.*, the greater the variety and complications of weapons and machinery—the more numerous they will be. They are all defects in mechanical design and execution, and in remedying them the line officers under my command exhibit a resource and facility fully equal to that of the engineers. The joint efforts of all are rapidly making the "Indiana" the peer of any battleship afloat.

It was necessary to relieve her chief engineer, one of the "contemporaries" referred to by Engineer-in-Chief Melville, in the first half-year of her commission, his administration not proving satisfactory. Nor was this due to the "trinity of men claiming to be vested with supreme authority." Bent valve stems, engines unexpectedly starting in dry dock, hot bearings, and a general want of efficiency were caused, not by the "trinity," but by the lack of practical knowledge of modern steam machinery. Educated on a maximum of 40 revolutions a minute, 120 was more than he could grasp.

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Natural reasons for natural phenomena always exist. When this chief engineer and one of his assistants assured me that there was no reason for the "Indiana's" engine starting off in dry dock, I felt that it was time to insist upon a change. Neither line titles nor government aid to engineering schools will better this condition; but there is a remedy and one easily applied.

The "trinity," so bitterly referred to, consists of the captain, the executive officer, and the officer of the deck. The captain's authority is not as yet questioned, but the authority which the other two employ, always as delegates or representatives of the captain, is deeply resented. It is, if one believes them, the "hoodoo" of the engineers. Yet this organization is the same in all navies, and is the fruit of all naval experience. It represents discipline and power. It is the fad of to-day in some quarters to pull both down; but it is not a creditable effort for one of the branches of the naval service.

Discipline and executive ability on the part of those in charge are the prime factors of efficiency. Discipline in its highest sense does not exist without willing, hearty, intelligent obedience of orders. A captain can always enforce obedience, but the more force employed, the less real the discipline. I find that the discipline of the engineer's force is not as good as that of the combatant force, and that this is due to the difference in attitude and spirit towards the military organization of the ship. I have the same power over both forces, and have the sole authority to administer rewards and punishments; and if I had the same loyal support from engineer officers that I have from those of the line, the discipline throughout the entire force would speedily become the same.

The engineer officer does not give the same careful attention to his men. He has not, as a rule, the same executive ability as the line officer. He does not lay out work and apportion responsibility so well. His personal sense of discipline is not, in many cases, all that could be desired. The kind of obedience that leads to the greatest efficiency is not always found, and there is a reason for this.

Imagine a naval service in which all the officers of one branch are seeking to obtain the titles of the officers of another and the strictly military branch; to drop the titles which they hold, and which are descriptive of their duties, and assume other titles

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which describe the duties of another class of officers. Imagine further that these same officers are also seeking a removal of the demands and restrictions of naval discipline as applied to themselves. Let these officers use every effort to influence public opinion and Congressional action in their favor and against the officers of the military branch; enlist the assistance of societies and unions of men of the same profession as their own in civil life; send circulars to boards of trade; suggest that apparatus, machinery, and professors shall be supplied to colleges at government expense; propose that a certain number of the graduates of these colleges shall receive each year a substantial bounty from the government; and direct all this influence to an attack upon the existing organization of the service to which they belong. Would not a condition of unrest and discontent among them be expected? Would it be surprising to find discipline impaired, its impulses less healthy, its responses more feeble?

Such are the efforts of the naval engineers to-day, and the propaganda finds its legitimate result among engineers afloat. They are encouraged by their seniors ashore to think that Congress will embody their views in legislation. These views are vague. They have never definitely formulated them nor explained them. They want "authority to command and discipline their men." They already have more than they exercise. The principal interference with the engineer's force is rendered necessary to carry out "command and discipline" vested by regulation in their hands, but neglected or evaded.

Their social position, like that of the line and other branches, is based on a commission in the United States navy, and beyond that is precisely what each individual makes for himself. They enter the navy for certain duties, and they bear titles which indicate those duties. They may consider line titles as of more prestige and more desirable; but the organization of a great service cannot be overturned to suit the vanity of individuals.

Engineer-in-Chief Melville's word picture of the fireman in time of action is very striking, and will, I think, prove to be absolutely true. The fireman will face the red-hot furnace, will perspire freely, and wear little clothing, while he shovels in the coal which gives out the power to drive the great machine of destruction. The Chief will stand by the throttle ready to "hold her nozzle agin the bank," and his assistants will be at their sta-

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tions to assist him and die for their country if necessary. They will do all this because it is their duty to do it, because they are trained to do it, and are paid to do it. Each at his station, and all behind eighteen inches of side armor and below a protective deck, they will wait for something to happen on the decks above them. If a shot should by any chance get through the armor and enter the boiler, would a line title for the chief engineer help matters? Surely no. He is doing an engineer's work. It is cut out for him and for his men, and they will, no doubt, perform it faithfully until death or the end of the fight gives them rest. He stands ready to receive and obey the captain's signal, and must obey it implicitly, blindly. The discretion is not his, nor the decision, but simply the execution.

What of the other hundreds on board? Where are they, and how do their billets compare with that of the man before the roaring furnace? What of the man behind the roaring gun? And what of the men in the thirty-six magazines? I have been led to think very seriously of these things during the past six months, and it seems to me that the man below and behind armor will be very fortunate in the supreme hour of a battleship's existence. There will be that above which tries men's nerve as well as their endurance. Carnage, the wreck of superstructure, splintered boats, fallen funnels, dismounted guns, will test the temper and quality of the "man behind the gun" and of the officer who commands him. The captain in the conning tower (perhaps not the one that took the ship into action, but a lieutenant or possibly an ensign) will have before his eyes this scene of destruction, and before his mind the picture of his vast responsibility. Throughout the action it is his province to decide upon the employment of each weapon, to determine when his 12,000 tons shall be sent crashing into the side of his enemy. Even at the moment of ramming, when the engines are doing all the work, the chief engineer has neither initiative nor discretion. He obeys a signal then as at all other times. Is there, then, any comparison between the duties of a chief engineer and those of a captain? between the position of a fireman and that of a sailor? Is this an "engineer's ship"?

The highly educated engineer, the man who is capable of designing and constructing machinery, is too much of a luxury for ship's rough work. What we need for engine-room watch stand-

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ing is a class of practical men trained in machine shops and engine-rooms—such men as might be recruited from the various ship yards where they have made and put together the engines and boilers over which they would stand watch; and from the merchant service, where they have learned to drive machinery to make dollars and cents for their owners.

If the educated engineers are to stand watch, there are too few of them. If they are to supervise only, one in a ship, and machinists are to stand watch, there are too many of them. In my opinion their number should be reduced, and we should take into the service a corps of warranted machinists. The permanent position and good pay would attract the best men of a most desirable and efficient class.

R. D. EVANS.

IV.

Two ideas are assiduously advanced by the naval engineers: first, that they are the sole inheritors afloat of the genius of Watt and his fellow pioneers in modern science and mechanism, the sole representatives in the navy of the progress and development of this age of steel and steam; second, that "engineering" and "engine-driving" are one and the same thing, demand the same education and accomplishment, and merit the same recognition and reward.

Naval conditions have wholly changed within the experience of men still in active service. Steam, forty years ago an auxiliary, has now become the sole motive power, sails have been wholly discarded, and vessels of war are filled with machinery to steer, to hoist, to handle guns, to obtain efficient ventilation and drainage, all of which is operated directly or indirectly by steam. The domain of mechanics in a modern fleet is a wide one; the value of mechanical knowledge is almost universal.

In this naval renaissance line officers have borne their full share both in design and execution. Carrying from Annapolis a polytechnic training, long anticipating the new departure, they met more than half way the changes demanded by the new order of things, and quickly placed themselves in entire accord with its most advanced requirements. Their stake was greater than that of the engineers, for they command the country's ships and fleets, and would be held responsible for their operations in war.

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Under their sole direction and guidance has been developed the manufacture of steel, urged on by an ascending scale of requirements to the highest results, the manufacture of armor which has led the world, all ordnance and torpedo engineering, electric engineering in its application to ship's lighting, search-lights and motors on shipboard, and the complicated systems of interior communications; and they have shared with the constructors the responsibility for the ventilation of ships. The gun shop at the Washington Navy Yard, which has not its superior, perhaps not its equal, in the world, is entirely their creation. A line officer has invented the range finder, the stadimeter and a variety of electrical appliances with which our vessels are fitted. In the new battle-ships the engineers receive directions by an electric telegraph, and the number of revolutions of their engines is transmitted by an electric indicator, both of which are the inventions of a "sailor" officer.

The engineers have been fully occupied in keeping up with the times in their own especial province.

The crucial experience of modern naval development, as marked from time to time by naval battles, has not altered in any respect the relation of the seaman to the men and forces under his control. Lissa did not differ from Trafalgar, nor the Yalu from Lissa. The actions of the Civil War, whether between sailing vessels, Mississippi steamers or monitors, were all the same in their military character. The seaman has always been in supreme command, and has employed at his own sole discretion every force and factor in his ship. The engineer has never yet become of prime importance; nor does history offer any expectation that he will.

The second point indicated above is the difference between an engineer and an engine-driver. A confusion of ideas in this respect is maintained throughout the articles to which this paper replies. The engineer and engine-driver are made to appear one and the same person, the liberal profession and the trade one and the same occupation.

Engineering is a great profession, liberal and comprehensive. It has directed the industrial development of modern times, and mechanical engineering, as one of its branches, shares its fame. But this high professional work ceases when design and construction are completed. The finished product is then handed over to

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another occupation; to men skilled by daily practice in its employment and care.

An engineer may go to sea in charge of engines, but while so engaged he is an engine-driver. This continually happens in our own navy. Highly educated young men are taken into the service as assistant engineers and are sent to sea to do the duty elsewhere performed by men who are qualified only for engine driving. Month after month, and cruise after cruise, their regular routine duty is work nowhere else given to men of their intellectual and professional position and attainments. Naturally they feel this disparity between the purpose for which they have been prepared and that for which they are employed, and this feeling finds issue in discontent and agitation.

On shore their duties are professional. They fully appreciate this difference. Engineer-in-Chief Melville said himself, not long since, with respect to one of his assistants, who, his term of shore duty having expired, was about to be ordered to sea: "He is worth $20,000 a year to the government as a designer; and he is to be sent to a ship to become a mere engine driver."

The functions and positions of engineers and engine drivers (mechanicians) should not be confused. The navy in commission and ready for service—the military marine—has to do only with the second class.

Of these an ample number is needed in a modern fleet. In vessels filled with mechanism there must be a sufficient staff skilled in its care and use. No one of the many machines upon which the efficiency of a ship more or less depends may be allowed to suffer through neglect or ignorance. Upon this point there is no difference of opinion; and the remaining question is, of what class shall the great body of these mechanicians be composed? Engineer-in-Chief Melville and his friends insist that they shall be university men fully educated for engineering. Line officers hold that they should be practical artisans, trained in machine shops and engine-rooms, with muscles hardened by actual manual labor, and habituated to the exposure and fatigue incidental to their duties. They maintain that mechanical experience is a better preparation for these duties than college classes and lecture-rooms.

The view of the naval engineers is supported only by their theories and assertions. The contrary view is sustained by the experience and practice of the great navies, and of the merchant

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marine. The tendency has been in navies to decrease the number of commissioned engineers and improve their professional acquirement; to increase the number of mechanicians and give them the permanent and assured status of warrant rank.

The number of commissioned engineers in the United States navy is already greater per ship and per horse power than in any navy of Europe. The Squire-Wilson bill would make it more than twice as great.

The following table shows the proportion in the several great navies:

	Number of engineers per ship.	Horse power to each engineer.
Great Britain	2.15	2,220
France	1.38	2,783
Russia	1.79	2,334
Italy	2.16	2,180
Germany	.96	3,920
United States	2.70	1,569
United States (proposed by Squire-Wilson bill).	4.21	1,004

Torpedo-boats are not included in the number of ships. Of these, Great Britain has 166, France 234, Russia 173, Italy 179, Germany 145, and the United States 18, including all authorized.

It will be noticed that Germany has less than one commissioned engineer to each vessel of her fleet. The German navy is noted for its active, hardworking, and progressive qualities. It is not hampered by traditions, because it is a young navy and has none. It receives the personal attention of a young, vigorous, and warlike emperor, counting his brother among its superior officers, and the sole criteria of its administration are efficiency and economy. Nor does any nation test so frequently or so stringently by mobilization and manœuvres the actual condition of its military services as does Germany, or apply so relentlessly needed measures of reform.

But with this small body of commissioned engineers is associated in foreign navies a large body of trained and skilled practical mechanicians. In continental navies these have existed from the introduction of steam. The following table shows the great change which has taken place in the British navy in this respect, especially in the last few years.

Since 1889 the British navy has been enormously increased. Two great building programmes have authorized 173 ships, many of them of unusual power and size. Its fighting strength

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has been doubled, and its administration, training, and methods have been much improved.

ENGINEER OFFICERS AND ARTIFICERS (MECHANICIANS) IN BRITISH NAVY, 1863 TO 1896.

	Engineer officers.	Engine-room artificers.
1863	1,418	none
1868	1,265	90
1874	965	209
1877	898	393
1880	790	573
1883	691	788
1886	676	1,124
1888	687	1,163
1893	741*	1,541
1894	782*	1,898
1895	831*	2,068
1896	845*	2,335

*These numbers include about 70 engineers carried for "other service" and not "available for sea."

To what extent have the commissioned engineers shared in this movement? With an increase in the total *personnel* of 50 per cent., and of the engine-room artificers of 108 per cent., the number of engineers has been increased only 24 per cent. It does not appear that in the British navy the engineer is yet considered "the great factor in naval warfare."

Our engineers cite their great numbers during the war as an argument for increase. On January 1, 1865, they numbered 2,252, but only half were commissioned officers, 1,125 being third assistants with the rank of midshipman, and receiving a pay less than that of warrant officer. Of the 1,127 commissioned, 734 had the lowest rank, the relative rank of ensign. The body of volunteers (1,778 of this 2,252) were practical machinists, taken for the most part from the engine-rooms of merchant craft, and returning at the close of the war to their former occupation.

The importance of having in a fleet a certain number of highly educated engineers of commissioned rank is not denied; but they should serve afloat for the general superintendence and control of the engineers' divisions, and not for the performance of routine and subordinate duty. The educated engineer's breadth of mind, his rank, and the official status which it gives him, better qualify him for administrative direction—for the position of chief engineer—but it does not follow that his subordinates should be men of the same class. The naval experience of the present day, after ample service with mastless ships, sums up about as follows: Torpedo-boats and small craft require no commissioned engineers;

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gun vessels and small cruisers require one; battleships and other heavy vessels two, a chief and an assistant; flagships perhaps three, to provide for chance vacancies. All watch standing should be done by mechanicians, brought into the service if possible as boys, trained in shops and engine-rooms, and advanced through the several grades of petty officer to the rank of warrant officer like our boatswains and gunners, with good pay, assured position, and the privileges of retirement.

Such a reorganization of the naval engineers would obviate a feature to which the attention of the country is periodically called by paragraphs in the papers from Maine to California, viz.: their physical breakdown on shipboard, which is constantly advanced as an argument for more rank and greater numbers. Many engineers have broken down; so have people in other walks of life. It is one of the ills of the flesh. Line officers break down; but these incidents are not employed in a propaganda.

The trouble lies with the men, not with the conditions of service. Many of the chief engineers of the navy are advanced in life and have led during long intervals between cruises sedentary lives on shore. They are too old—some of them sixty years of age; they are unfamiliar with the more recent machinery, and they can't stand the strain. The younger men who collapse simply lack the requisite physical strength. Men advanced in years are not fit to go to sea in positions of physical and mental stress. Remove the older engineers from the sea-going list, advance the younger men to the positions of chief engineers of our large ships, put a good class of warranted mechanicians into engine-rooms—brawny, vigorous young men, sound in wind and limb—and there will be no more "breaking down." We hear that the "Indiana," after a week's cruising at ten knots, sent her chief engineer and one assistant to the hospital. How absurd! What do the practical men who run Cramp's speed trials think of that? The "Indiana's" engine-room at ten knots would be a playground to them. What are we to expect in time of war from men who break down during drills?

The *personnel* of this, as of other branches of the navy, must be adapted to the actual conditions of its service. These are arduous and exhausting; and given a good practical knowledge of machinery, they demand as a first requisite physical endurance. Good lungs, heart, stomach, and muscular development

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are necessary to withstand the heat and confinement, the coal dust, and oil spray in the machinery spaces of a modern man-of-war. Where shall we obtain this class of men? Certainly among those who have made such work their vocation, and who are therein a survival of the fittest, the physically incompetent having been eliminated. Certainly not from college graduates without knowledge or experience of the work, or of shipboard life.

Running through the papers in the May number is a distinct note of opposition to military discipline—of protest against authority—which is worthy of attention. The engineer is commended for "attempting to use industrial methods" in ships of war and for opposing "military routine." But, while contending against the requirements of discipline and military organization, the naval engineers ask for themselves more rank and purely military titles; and insist that a military status is essential to their efficiency. In brief, we take from their own statements the conflicting opinions that in a military marine the engineers are essentially a military body, and that their status, their rank, and their titles must be made so; and finally that their methods should be "industrial" and that "military routine" should be abolished from the firerooms.

It is fitting that the close to these arguments should be made by a gentleman who finds the position of a naval line officer the same as that of a mate in a merchant vessel, who finds that "sailors" have dealt long enough with naval regulations, and who has decided that Congress shall, upon this point, register the decrees of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, which organization, after coming into touch with the Naval Engineers, "now realizes the power which it possesses."

S. A. STAUNTON.

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SOME MEMORIES OF LINCOLN.

BY EX-SENATOR JAMES F. WILSON.

THE raid made by the Confederate General, J. E. B. Stuart, in June, 1862, around the Union army commanded by General McClellan, caused great anxiety in Washington. One of its results was the interruption of communications between the capital and the Army of the Potomac. What this portended no one could affirm. That it suggested the gravest possibilities was felt by all. President Lincoln was profoundly disturbed and greatly depressed, as were all about him. Every person was anxious for news from the army, though each feared its coming; for it was expected to herald disaster.

While this feeling was dominating all circles several gentlemen, myself among them, called on President Lincoln in order to be definitely advised about the condition of affairs as understood by him. We were admitted to his presence at once. Upon entering the room where he received us, we discerned that he regarded the situation as of the gravest import. Intense anxiety was written in every line of his troubled face.

To our question: "Mr. President, have you any news from the army?" he sadly replied: "Not one word; we can get no communication with it. I do not know that we have an army; it may have been destroyed or captured, though I cannot so believe, for it was a splendid army. But the most I can do now is to hope that serious disaster has not befallen it."

This led to a somewhat protracted conversation relative to the general condition of our affairs. It was useless to talk about the Army of the Potomac; for we knew nothing concerning its condition or position at that moment. The conversation therefore took a wide range and touched upon the subject of slavery, about which much was said. The proposition was advanced that

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the nation should take immediate and resolute ground for its utter extinction from the limits of the republic. The emancipation proclamation of the President was heartily commended; but it was insisted that the proclamation did not meet the full requirements of the case, and could not be made to answer the demands of the aroused moral sense of the nation, and that, therefore, the President, Congress, and the loyal States should act together for the extermination of slavery.

The President did not participate in this conversation. He was an attentive listener, but gave no sign of approval or disapproval of the views which were expressed. At length one of the active participants remarked:

"Slavery must be stricken down wherever it exists in this country. It is right that it should be. It is a crime against justice and humanity. We have tolerated it too long. It brought this war upon us. I believe that Providence is not unmindful of the struggle in which this nation is engaged. If we do not do right I believe God will let us go our own way to our ruin. But, if we do right, I believe He will lead us safely out of this wilderness, crown our arms with victory, and restore our now dissevered Union."

I observed President Lincoln closely while this earnest opinion and expression of religious faith was being uttered. I saw that it affected him deeply, and anticipated, from the play of his features and the sparkle of his eyes, that he would not let the occasion pass without making some definite response to it. I was not mistaken. Mr. Lincoln had been sitting in his chair, in a kind of weary and despondent attitude while the conversation progressed. At the conclusion of the remarks I have quoted, he at once arose and stood at his extreme height. Pausing a moment, his right arm outstretched towards the gentleman who had just ceased speaking, his face aglow like the face of a prophet, Mr. Lincoln gave deliberate and emphatic utterance to the religious faith which sustained him in the great trial to which he and the country were subjected. He said:

"My faith is greater than yours. I not only believe that Providence is not unmindful of the struggle in which this nation is engaged; that if we do not do right God will let us go our own way to our ruin; and that if we do right He will lead us safely out of this wilderness, crown our arms with victory, and

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restore our dissevered union, as you have expressed your belief; but I also believe that He will compel us to do right in order that He may do these things, not so much because we desire them as that they accord with His plans of dealing with this nation, in the midst of which He means to establish Justice. I think He means that we shall do more than we have yet done in furtherance of His plans, and He will open the way for our doing it. I have felt His hand upon me in great trials and submitted to His guidance, and I trust that as He shall further open the way I will be ready to walk therein, relying on His help and trusting in His goodness and wisdom."

The manner of this delivery was most impressive, and as Mr. Lincoln resumed his seat he seemed to have recovered from the dejection so apparent when we entered the room. With a reassured tone and manner, he remarked:

"The Army of the Potomac is necessary to our success; and though the case at this moment looks dark, I can but hope and believe that we will soon have news from it relieving our present anxiety. Sometimes it seems necessary that we should be confronted with perils which threaten us with disaster in order that we may not get puffed up and forget Him who has much work for us yet to do. I hope our present case is no more than this, and that a bright morning will follow the dark hour that now fills us with alarm. Indeed, my faith tells me it will be so."

During the day advices were received from the army and soon thereafter the aspect of our military affairs gave renewed hope that the portent of disaster would be dispelled by substantial success. This was realized in the battle of Malvern Hill. And on the first day of the next session of Congress a movement was started which culminated in the amendment of the Constitution whereby slavery was abolished.

President Lincoln's profound respect for the Constitution of his country was made manifest on many occasions and in many ways. He had a lively regard for the rights of the citizen under it. I doubt if he performed any act as President which gave him more serious concern than did the one by which he suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. This act interfered with the personal liberty of the citizen, and prevented his resort to courts for protection. I had numerous conversations with the President on this subject. He was sensitive under the criticisms to which his act suspending

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the great writ was subjected. During a conversation had with him near the close of the year 1863, I became advised of the depth of his feeling in this regard. As we were proceeding, he put to me, with some abruptness, this interrogative statement:

"I suppose you have read some of my official papers?"

"Mr. President," I replied, "I believe that I have read all of your official papers that have been made public."

"Well," he responded, "that is more than I should have expected of any one; for I guess some of them were hardly worth the reading, though I meant each one should be; but as I have so much to think about and do, I would be more than mortal to think well and do well on all occasions and subjects. But, as you say you have read all of my published official papers, tell me frankly which one you regard most favorably."

My answer was ready, and I gave it in these words: "Mr. President, your letter of the 13th of June last, in reply to the one signed by Erastus Corning and others, whereby they communicated t you the resolutions of the Albany meeting relative to the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham is, in my judgment, your best paper."

Without allowing me opportunity to explain the grounds on which I based my opinion, he, with some indication of gratification, remarked:

"I am glad you think so, and I agree with you. I put that paper together in less time than any other one of like importance ever prepared by me."

He then explained how the paper had been prepared. Turning to a drawer in the desk at which he was sitting and pulling it partly out, he said:

"When it became necessary for me to write that letter, I had it nearly all in there," pointing to the drawer, "but it was in disconnected thoughts, which I had jotted down from time to time on separate scraps of paper. I had been worried a good deal by what had been said in the newspapers and in Congress about my suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and the co-called arbitrary arrests that had followed. I did not doubt my power to suspend the writ, nor the necessity which demanded its exercise. But I was criticised harshly, and sometimes by men from whom I expected more generous treatment, and who ought to have known more and better than the character of their expressions indicated. This caused me to examine and re-examine the sub-

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ject. I gave it a great deal of thought; I examined and studied it from every side; indeed, it was seemingly present with me continually. Often an idea about it would occur to me which seemed to have force and make perfect answer to some of the things that were said and written about my actions. I never let one of those ideas escape me, but wrote it on a scrap of paper and put it in that drawer. In that way I saved my best thoughts on the subject, and, you know, such things often come in a kind of intuitive way more clearly than if one were to sit down and deliberately reason them out.

"To save the results of such mental action is true intellectual economy. It not only saves time and labor, but also the very best material the mind can supply for unexpected emergencies. Of course, in this instance, I had to arrange the material at hand, and adapt it to the particular case presented. But that was an easy task compared with what immediate original composition of such a paper would have been. I am satisfied with the result, and am content to abide the judgment of the future on that paper, and of my action on the great subject and grave question to which it relates. Many persons have expressed to me the opinion you have of that paper, and I am pleased to know that the present judgment of thoughtful men about it is so generally in accord with what I believe the future will, without serious division, pronounce concerning it. I know that I acted with great deliberation and on my conscience when I suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. It was with great reluctance that I came to recognize the necessity which demanded it. But when that became plain to my mind I did not hesitate to do my duty. I have had to do many unpleasant things since the country imposed on me the task of administering the government, and I will continue to do them when they come in the line of my official duty, always with prayerful care, and without stopping to consider what personal result may come to me."

President Lincoln's solicitude for the welfare of the private soldiers of the Union Army was always active. Many facts illustrative of this have been given publicity. He did not lack appreciation of the necessity of discipline; but he recognized the difficulty attending the application of the rigid rules and regulations that had been formulated for the government of the regular army to the masses of men suddenly called from the freedom of

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civil life into the military service. Hence the many instances in which he interposed his power to save private soldiers from penalties imposed by military tribunals.

Once I had occasion to apply for the removal of a charge of desertion which stood against a private soldier on the rolls of his company and regiment. The soldier had left his command, and visited his home in the State of Iowa, on sick furlough. He did not return to his company for several weeks after his furlough had expired. The cause of delay was continued sickness. Knowing the consequences that would follow upon absence after such expiration without proper explanation, the soldier had endeavored to keep his officers informed of his condition and of his inability to return. This he did by forwarding each week a surgeon's certificate of his continuing disability. As soon as he became able to travel he left his home, and, without further delay, rejoined his company and reported for duty. He was surprised to find that he was borne on the rolls as a deserter. The surgeon's certificates which he had obtained and forwarded had failed to reach the proper officer, and he technically was a deserter; nevertheless, he was allowed to go on duty. He at once prepared in writing a statement of his case, which he sent to his father, with a request that it be placed in my hands for presentation to the Secretary of War with a view to the removal of the charge of desertion. The soldier's father and myself lived in the same town, and our residences were but a few steps apart. Hence, inasmuch as I was at home during the time covered by the soldier's furlough, his detention by sickness after its expiration, and his return to his company, and as I frequently visited in his father's family during that period, I had personal knowledge of the facts in his case.

Soon after the papers had been placed in my possession, I proceeded to Washington, to be present at the opening of a session of Congress, then near at hand. One of the first duties to which I gave attention after my arrival at the capital was the presentation of the case of the son of my neighbor to the Secretary of War. I called on Secretary Stanton at the War Department. I found him very busy and in one of his bad moods. His office was full of senators, representatives, and other persons having business to transact with him. His manner was brusque to some, and not very courteous to any on that occasion. I had often seen him in such moods, and

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considering the character of his duties, the multiplied cares that crowded upon him, and the condition of our military affairs, I rather wondered that he ever appeared other than he seemed that morning.

After disposing of the visitors who had precedence of me, he addressed me, and in response I briefly stated the cause of my visit, and reached the papers in the case to him. With an abrupt motion of his hand he declined to receive them; and with nervous irritability said:

"Ah, this is the case of a deserter, is it? I want nothing to do with it. We are having too many of them now. We had better make a few examples by shooting a deserter now and then. That might put a stop to the business."

To this outburst of feeling I answered: "Mr. Secretary, this is not the case of a deserter, except in the narrowest and most technical sense."

"That is what they all say," he replied. "Every man of them, when caught, or in hiding and asking for relief, has some plausible excuse. I have no time to spare for the consideration of the cases of men who run away from their duty."

My response was: "Mr. Secretary, I have personal knowledge of the facts presented in this case, and I tell you that it is a proper one for you to heed and remedy. Doubtless, some bad cases come to you for relief; but this is not one of that kind. I know its character and present it to you on the basis of my personal knowledge."

The statement made no impression on him, and, turning from me, he was about to give his attention to others in waiting, when I remarked:

"Mr. Secretary, you are hasty and unjust. This case cannot be brushed aside in that way; I know its merits, and will carry it to the President, who is deliberate and just, and I will get his order directing you to amend the record and place this soldier right on the rolls."

With more than usual emphasis, and with apparent irritation, he said:

"Go to the President, if you please; I will not consider the case, nor will I execute such an order."

In the act of turning away from the vexed Secretary, I remarked:

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"Yes, I will go to the President, state the case to him, and request him to read these papers. There can be no doubt as to the result. He will make the proper order and deal justly by the soldier. But he shall not do it without first having been told all that has passed between us; for he shall not be misled, nor act without knowledge of each and every feature of the case."

Proceeding at once to the Executive Mansion, I placed the papers in the hands of the President. He read them, and said:

"If the statements herein made are true, this soldier ought to be relieved; for he is in no proper sense a deserter. He seems to have done all that he could do to comply with the regulations governing such cases, and to discharge his duty. Are you sure that the facts are correctly stated?"

To this question my answer was: "I have personal knowledge that all of the material facts are true as stated in the papers you have read"; and I explained the sources of my knowledge.

The President handed me the papers, requesting me to endorse on them the statement I had made, which I did; and, after signing my name to it, I handed the papers back to him. He was proceeding to endorse the proper order on them, when I requested him to stay his hand for a moment that he might be placed in possession of some further facts connected with the case. He complied with the request, and I gave him a circumstantial statement of my interview with the Secretary of War. It seemed to interest him. At its conclusion he made no remark, but endorsed and signed the order as requested. He then returned the papers to me, quaintly remarking:

"Your persistence in this case is right. There is the order, and I guess it will be obeyed."

I thanked the President, and was about to depart, when it occurred to me that another question and answer might be of some service. I asked him what I should do in case the Secretary of War should decline to execute the order. He promptly replied:

"Report the fact to me, but I guess he will obey that order. I know it is a small thing, as some would look at it, as it only relates to a private soldier, and we have hundreds of thousands of them. But the way to have good soldiers is to treat them rightly. At all events that is my order in this case. Let me know what comes of it."

The result of this interview was promptly reported to the Sec-

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retary of War. The papers were placed before him and his attention directed to the endorsement of the President. He read it and evidently was vexed, for with a noticeable degree of feeling he repeated the declaration that he would not execute the order. A circumstantial statement was then made to him of the interview with the President, nothing being omitted. This did not seem to affect the Secretary nor move him to compliance. After waiting a moment, and seeing no indication of action on his part, I picked up the papers, remarking as I did so :

"Mr. Secretary, as you decline to obey the President's order to you, I will obey the one he gave to me, and report the result of this interview to him at once."

Leaving the Secretary's room I proceeded down the stairway leading to the first floor of the Department, intending to go directly to the Executive Mansion with my report of the foregoing interview and ascertain the further purpose of the President. Before I reached the outer door of the Department a messenger overtook me and said the Secretary desired to see me. Returning to his room I found him apparently in better mood and his manner greatly changed. He pleasantly requested me to give him the papers in the case, and I passed them to him. Without further remark he endorsed on them directions to the Adjutant-General to execute the President's order. This done he turned to me and said :

"It seems to me that the President would rather have a fuss with anybody than miss a chance to do a kindness to a private soldier. But I suppose this case is all right. At all events I like your dogged persistence in it, and we will be good friends."

And so we ever after were.

Other matters caused me to call on the President some days after this occurrence. At the conclusion of our conversation relative to the object of my visit, he said :

"How did you get on with the Secretary of War in that soldier's case you had here the other day ?"

I reported the interview and stated the result.

"Well," he replied, "I am glad you stuck to it, and that it ended as it did ; for I meant it should so end if I had to give it personal attention. A private soldier has as much right to justice as a Major-General."

JAMES F. WILSON.

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PENAL COLONIES—AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTOR OF PRISONS.

SOCIETY has fought with many weapons in its ceaseless warfare with those forces of rebellion and disorder that constantly oppose and break the laws made for the general good. The battle is not always to the strong, and that society has so far gained no decisive victory is seen in the continued vitality of crime. No penal system as yet devised has succeeded wholly. Extirpation, the oldest, the shortest, and simplest method with offenders, no doubt reduced their numbers by summary process. To catch your criminal and hang him out of hand was to rid the world of a rascal, to save the state the cost of his keep, and the public from his further attacks. But even when the hangman was busiest other candidates offered themselves freely. The same idea, that of removal, in a less permanent fashion, underlay deportation to a distance or transportation beyond the seas, a system that had much to recommend it. It avoided the savage truculence of a code that sent sinners straight out of the world with all their imperfections thick upon them ; it relieved the metropole or mother country of its worst citizens, but gave them the chances of rehabilitation in new lands when their offence was purged. Its seeming excellence even now recommends it to some European nations slow to accept the experience of others who have made the largest experiments with it, and have yet condemned and abandoned it utterly. When increasing tenderness for life forbade wholesale executions, when penal exile failed, became impossible, or was only persisted in with doubt and difficulty by those most enamoured of it, judicial ingenuity could devise nothing

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better than imprisonment under new and improved conditions. Loss of liberty, detention, under certain irksome restraints, became the principal and most approved panacea for crime.

While all civilized countries generally have accepted the principle of cellular separation, some still dislike it, others have been deterred by various causes from its complete adoption ; two only have given it thorough and unstinting support, and these, too, in varying degrees. Great Britain and Belgium have alone and long since provided a single cell for every criminal held in custody and have applied the regime of separate imprisonment, wholly or in part, to all. The prison system differs largely, however, in the two countries. In Belgium the rule of strict separation has been imposed rigorously and for lengthened periods, for ten or more years. Great Britain has never practised the same severity either as regards discipline or term. The outside limit of separate confinement has been fixed at two years, and this is but rarely inflicted. The great bulk of British offenders progress through several stages of penal treatment, and the first part only of a long sentence or the whole sentence, if it be brief, is passed in the separate cell.

Both the British and Belgian systems must be allowed to have accomplished much, if only it be conceded that they have contributed to the diminution of crime. Some say that no prison system can exercise great effect in this direction; that when such desirable results have been attained they are due to other extraneous but concurrent causes ; that our extensive child rescue, the reformation of juveniles, the milder methods of the conditional or deferred sentence, contribute greatly to the comparative emptiness of prisons. It is impossible, however, to ignore such figures as the criminal statistics of both these countries can show. Thus in Belgium the total number of convictions fell from 7,000 in 1850 to 4,634 in 1889, although the general population of the country had increased from four and one-half millions to six millions between those years. In Great Britain the decrease has been still more remarkable. Taking the numbers actually in custody, the total of convicts, or those under sentence of penal servitude, was 11,600 in 1869, and in 1896 no more than 4,159 ; while the total in custody, taking the daily average of those sentenced to imprisonment, was reduced from 21,000 in 1878 to 14,394 in 1896. The increase of general population has, more-

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over, been very considerable. In 1869 it was twenty-one millions, in 1879 twenty-four and one-half millions, in 1895, the last census, it had risen to thirty millions.

Obviously, then, the system of cellular confinement is not to be lightly condemned. Yet there is a strong current of opinion running counter to it, especially in its most severe methods. Its opponents use very strong and emphatic language against it. Enrico Ferri, one of the most gifted members of the now famous new school of Italian criminalists, stigmatizes the craze for the prison cell as "one of the madnesses of the nineteenth century." He admits that it originated in an intelligible reaction; that it was a proper protest against the moral and physical putrefaction engendered in the old gaols; but these are no longer existent, they can now be avoided without maintaining "the stupid, useless, costly process of consigning offenders to a living tomb." There is nothing new in these severe strictures. Many profound thinkers and practised administrators have already raised their powerful voices against the system. Thus Herbert Spencer has given it as his opinion that, "while silence and solitude may cow the spirit or undermine the energies, they cannot produce true reformation. . . . Indeed we think that it is probable that much of the apparent success of long cellular imprisonment is due to an enfeeblement which incapacitates for crime as much as for industry." Another, a veteran administrator of world-wide reputation, Sir Edmund Du Cane, has declared against it for long terms. "Perpetual seclusion in a cell for long years," he says, "with no communication with his fellows, is an artificial state of existence so absolutely opposed to that which nature points out as the condition of mental, moral, and physical health, and so entirely unlike that which a man is to be prepared to follow on his discharge from prison, that it cannot be expected to fulfill the required object."

Quite recently a powerful voice has been raised against it from within its chief stronghold. M. Prins, the new head of the Belgian prison department, has pronounced definitely against the system elaborated at such cost and with such pains in his country. M. Prins will not admit its efficacy for reformation. However excellent the theory, it has proved, he declares, an illusion in practice. It has been hoped that the criminal would be cured by withdrawing him from all noxious influences and subjecting him

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to the benevolent admonition of prison pastors and masters. The prison staff, the chaplain, governor, warders, teachers, by constant visitation are to be his only companions, and they are to be concentrated upon him for his regeneration. Yet this process, he urges, soon dwindles into a matter of mere routine: if carried out in the ideal way it would be necessary to supply each individual prisoner with at least half a dozen competent preachers; as it is, one warder alone has to deal with some thirty prisoners, and the superior officials can give no inmate more than five or ten minutes a day. This is far from the "great moral hospital" which was in the minds of those most eager in support of the system. "To soak a human brute with good counsel," says M. Prins, summing up the situation, "and suppose that he will leave his cell regenerated, or that he can be safely let loose upon society, is a Utopia compared with which the dreams af More and Campanella are practical measures."

There can be little doubt that although it still finds some earnest champions, as in France, the system for long periods stands generally condemned. Nevertheless, for short terms it will not be lightly surrendered, nor in phases preparatory to more practical treatment. As regards the first, its infliction cannot be called unduly severe and may, perchance, be productive of good. Relegation to the prison cell, moreover, commends itself to many, as the simplest and most convenient method of coercion. It is so easy to say "three days," or, "a week's hard labor," and thus wash your hands for the time being of an offender. Whether the penalty will greatly benefit those subjected to it by its deterrence, or the opportunity it affords him for repentance, will not greatly concern the court. The main object of punishment, its sole excuse as some pretend, is that it tends to the prevention and cure of crime by these very means, of salutary warning and reformatory processes. That the short term effects neither is shown by the interminable procession passing in and out of gaol. Within the narrow limits that we agree to impose it, it fails whether as prophylactic or cure. It neither corrects the corrigible nor keeps the incorrigible out of harm's way.

It is on these grounds, no less than the more sentimental and academic, that cellular imprisonment of any kind fails to find favor. It is indefensible for long, ineffective for short periods. In the latter form we may hold to it still, and for distinct cate-

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gories, but otherwise it must go by the board. The objections to life in common, even to the extent of daily labor, as a treatment for first offenders, are logical and sound. No tyro in crime should be subjected to the corrupting influences whether by precept or example of the hardened evil-doer. Indiscriminate association is to be strongly deprecated in such cases, for it is intolerable that the prison should be a school of crime. Whether a short incarceration will hereafter keep even the first and minor offender straight, whether by the recollection of discomforts endured or the moral regeneration worked upon him, may be doubted. The action of the penal law upon all such has been compared by M. Prins to that of a waterspout which lets fall drop after drop upon criminality, and which might as well be wasted in the sand. There is no reformation, says Ferri, to be secured in this way: "You cannot cure crime by quickly passing those who commit it through a gaol."

But where cellular confinement principally fails, whether for long or short periods, is with the habitual offender, the man who has taken up crime as a profession and who persistently relapses when at large. It is quite futile to subject him to short doses of cellular treatment. Nothing else, it is urged, will check or deter him. Can it be pretended that he is frightened by a punishment he is willing to face again and again? Hardly; still less is he cured by it with all its well-meant machinery for reform. Short sentences are simply wasted on him; they leave him where they found him and that is incorrigible. This is a conclusion forced on us by the irresistible logic of facts; one that must some day be accepted by all. We shall have arrived then at indefinite detention as the only possible or successful treatment. The common enemy when caught must be kept for much longer terms, under an indeterminate sentence, although not necessarily forever. Here, again, the cellular system fails us, being inapplicable for long terms and for the reasons already given. Philanthropic people regard it with too much distrust; the practical are alive to its shortcomings. It is disappointing, barren of results and when pushed to its farthest limits is positively cruel.

We are thus brought to admit the necessity for change; we must invent some new methods—some new sort of penitentiary establishments. They are not—or ought not to be—far to seek, and they should be found in the adaptation or extensions of exist-

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ing institutions. The best solution of the problem is the penal colony, planned and governed on broad intelligent lines—the best part, in fact, of the progressive system, as it is called, but greatly enlarged and improved. The worst feature of cellular imprisonment would then disappear; life in association under proper restrictions would replace the separate cell, and if the suggestion tends to alarm those to whom "association" in any shape is a perpetual bugbear, they may be reassured on hearing that it would not be permitted with the first or minor offenders, the comparatively undegenerate tyros in crime. My arguments and recommendations apply only to the habitual criminal, who is presumably case-hardened or steeped already in corruption. He and his fellows have been so inoculated with the criminal virus that they can hardly take a disseminate infection.

The penal colony again should help to solve other difficulties, to remove other defects inherent in the cellular system. It must not, and need not, be so extravagantly costly. It is not surprising that nowadays, when the system is so gravely challenged, many governments should shrink from the expenditure of hundreds of millions of pounds sterling to provide cells for its hundreds of thousands of prisoners. No such outlay would be required to properly house the inmates of a penal colony; not only would the cost of installation and maintenance be less, but better returns might be expected from the labor employed. The greater freedom of action allowed would afford many new outlets of employment, more profitable, more useful in the public sense, less open to contentious objections, than the naturally limited work that can be carried out in a small, separate cell. The latter must, of course, be sedentary; the narrow round of handicrafts pursued singly, costly to teach, needing skilled instructors, with much wastage of tools and material in maiden efforts, and at the end the protest of outsiders complaining, not strangely, although often unreasonably, against the unfair competition of state-aided trade. Let it be once granted that those whose labor is held forfeit may labor in the open under freer conditions, and most of these objections disappear. There are many, almost boundless, opportunities for utilizing the means thus afforded, and in ways that offend no prejudices and threaten no interests. The experiment of the penal colony has been tried in some countries already, under its own name or in princi-

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ple, although not so called, and I now propose to give some account of those in existence.

It must, however, be premised that the word "colony" is used in a restricted sense—that of its original meaning as a place worked by husbandmen, planted out, but at no great distance, nor beyond sea. I have no thought of proposing a return to deportation or transportation, whereof the advantages are highly problematical and the converse sufficiently clear. The arguments against it are too well known to need restatement in full. The theory of transforming the criminal into a landed proprietor is very fascinating, but it has failed in practice. After costing many millions, the penal colony passes into the stage where free settlers no longer need the assistance of convict labor, and contest the rights of emancipated convicts to concessions of land. The free settlers, as M. Joly, an eminent Frenchman, has said, are "at first in sympathy, then indifferent, then hostile." When they are few they willingly accept the help of penal colonization, when many and prosperous, they reject it. "Transportation," says Prins, "can never constitute a regular permanent part of any scheme of penitentiary institutions. It is not, and can never be, more than a passing or empirical practice; . . . the day when free emigration begins, transportation is doomed." This was the experience in Australia; it is fast showing itself in New Caledonia, and we shall see it some day in Eastern Siberia. If convict labor is worth anything, it is worth keeping at home, to be used for the benefit, direct or indirect, of the taxpayer who bears the charges. It *is* worth something, a good deal indeed, if properly applied, as it can be, and may be, under enlightened administration and with all the checks and safeguards afforded by watchful public opinion, conditions never present in a remote dependency. The penal colony of the future is to be established in our midst and in full view of all.

Several European nations, Japan also, have tried this form of penal treatment and with considerable success. In Holland, after the establishment of the famous pauper colonies at Frederiksoord and Willemsoord, a purely penal colony was created at Ommerschans to take refractory free colonists. This institution has now been closed in a great measure, because Holland has declared for the cellular system. France is now seemingly so wedded to its ideas of far colonial penal establishments that it has neglected

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the counsels of an eminent publicist, M. Berenger, who nearly fifty years ago urged that France everywhere offered vast opportunities for the better utilization of penal labor than that practised within prison walls. "The *landes* of Bordeaux cry aloud to be reclaimed; the marshes of Corsica are only waiting to be drained." In the early days of the Second Empire an energetic administrator, M. Thuillier, devoted himself to the latter enterprise, and created penal colonies around Ajaccio at Chiavari and Castelluccio, also at Casabianda, south of Bastia, intended to reclaim and cultivate waste lands. These colonies were sadly crippled by insanitary conditions, which were, however, presently overcome, and considerable progress has been made. It is strange that the nation which produced such noble characters as the Abbé Rey, MM. de Metz and Charles Lucas, the founders of the famous agricultural reformatories of Oullins, Mettray Val d'Yèvre, Citeaux, and Sainte Foy should not have adopted the principle of the penal colony near at hand. France now prefers to follow out the cellular system to the bitter end, or to travel into the *impasse* that deportation will certainly bring her. It will be noted with interest that at a recent meeting of that most useful body, the Prison Society of Paris, when discussing the question of penal colonization, a suggestion was made to adopt a system of *sections mobiles*, of "movable prisons," that is to say, prisons of light and temporary construction that can be established on one site and easily moved to another on the completion of any particular undertaking. The possible application of this most useful system nearer home does not appear to have struck, or at any rate to have laid hold of, French administrators.

Yet it has been practised with excellent results in Austria-Hungary. Large parties of prisoners who were approaching release have been employed in a state of semi-liberty in executing works of great public urgency and utility. Just ten years ago a strong detachment left the prison at Laibach to improve the bed of the river Lessachbach in Upper Carinthia; other parties have worked upon roads, canals, and rivers in the provinces of Carniola, Styria, and Gallicia. The reformatory prison of Aszod was constructed by this means. One of the most useful exploits of the Hungarian prisoners was to hem in the turbulent waters of the Galza, a torrential river which made great havoc in flood time. The river could be curbed only during the summer, when low,

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and then harvesting fully employed free labor. The work was accordingly entrusted to parties of convicts from the nearest prisons, who completed it most satisfactorily in three years. In all these cases perfect order was preserved; there was no elaborate prison paraphernalia; the prisoners carried with them a portable shed barrack, or built huts, or lived under canvas, always without bolts and bars or any of the restraints hitherto deemed indispensable when dealing with offenders in custody. "The labor they performed was cheap and effective; the discipline maintained excellent, and the prisoners are said to have benefited morally and physically, the first by the trust reposed in them, the second by the healthfulness of their daily occupations."

This is the very simplest realization of the penal colony. Indeed, it may be doubted whether it should ever be carried much further. At any rate, the more limited scope of the establishment encourages a closer supervision than would be possible with great numbers. And that the supreme head should be in touch with all the component parts, that he should know something of the character of every individual so as to watch him at every turn, is essential to good government, the best safeguard against trouble and disturbance. Misconduct never grows to a dangerous head, extending from one discontented man to many, if it be early checked by a judicious authority. This is really moral discipline, the best and safest, and where it exists it goes farther than a crowd of warders and an armory of weapons. Austrian experience proves that it can be attained; so does our English, of which more directly.

Again, the movable prisons would cease to be such if constituted on too large a scale. The *déménagement* would be too serious an undertaking, even though the buildings and plant employed were of the simplest description. But this power of easy transference is also an essential condition. Only thus could the labor available be usefully directed on the works that offered. We have seen in the case of Austria-Hungary what works could be undertaken. In every country, new and old, there are similar outlets to be found for prisoners' labor; the prosecution of works for the general good, but for which funds are not otherwise available. Prisoners must be supported and maintained, anyway; it is right to use their services in a remunerative fashion.

Nevertheless, the larger and more permanent penal colony is

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to be recommended where wider and more prolonged operations were possible—such employments as the clearing of forests, the reclamation of fore-shores and waste lands, the construction of sea breakwaters and river dams, quarrying, mining, the cultivation of the soil with all varieties of farming and husbandry, the raising of stock, cereals, fruit, vegetables, and so forth. No European country has done more than Italy on these larger lines. Out-of-door agricultural labor has long been a part of prison discipline in Italy, but only in recent years have penal colonies of serious proportions been planted in the islands close at hand in the Tuscan Archipelago. The three principal ones are on Pianosa, Gorgona, and Capraia; there is a smaller colony on the island of Monte Cristo, immortalized by Alexandre Dumas, and, lastly, a large and increasing establishment at Castiadas, a mountainous district on the island of Sardinia. A vast amount of good work has been done at these during the last decade; the colonies are mainly self-supporting; they grow their own corn, make their own clothes and administer generally to their own needs as regards buildings, roads, and communications, the manufacture of agricultural implements and machinery. Other important and profitable results have been obtained, the colonies can boast of vineyards producing excellent wine, rich olive groves, good cereal crops; at Castiadas, which employs a boat of its own for shipment of provisions, the stock raising has been most successful, and herds of cattle, sheep, and goats are to be met with on its extensive pasture lands, all of them tended by convict herdsmen who live a free life far away from the prison.

If we go to the farthest East, we shall find the penal colony in full use by that most enlightened and progressive nation, Japan. She employs large numbers of convicts in useful works such as road making, mining and land reclamation. Three great establishments exist at Sapparo, Kabato, and Sarachi. At the first there are some 2,000 inmates, convicts undergoing a minimum sentence of ten years, who work the neighboring mines of Paronai, cultivate the prison fields, and supply all services with forges, brick-fields, and various industrial manufactures. The mildest discipline is enforced. There is no work except in fine weather; wet days are rest days. The prisoners occupy plain, unpretentious buildings and are lodged at night in rooms like wooden cages, 40 in each. They enjoy semi-liberty; the usual

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accompaniments of a gaol, great gates, high walls, bolts and bars, are wanting; the only precaution against escape is a distinctive salmon-colored costume and a peculiar way of shaving the crown of the head. A well-considered system of gradation in condition is an incentive to industry and good conduct; with each "badge" gained, the convict obtains privileges, and those who wear five badges are sent off into the interior in small batches, where they are like free laborers. This system is one of considerable antiquity in Japan, and much valuable work has been accomplished by it. After the expiration of sentence, grants of land are given to each convict, in the district of Hokkaido; he holds the land from government, but is to all intents and purposes a free man.

In Great Britain the home penal colony has long been accepted in principle, not quite intentionally perhaps, nor as fully as may yet be the rule, but the Public Works prisons, the second phase of our convict system, are practically penal colonies. Their discipline may be too rigid and severe for exact imitation, and yet it is through that discipline that so much has been accomplished. When large numbers of convicts are seen quietly and industriously performing their daily tasks in land reclamation and other forms of agriculture far beyond the prison boundary walls, indeed a couple of miles or more from home, and this with no display of force, no chains, or other restraints than the vigilance of a warder or two, it must be clear that the initial bugbear of the open-air employment of convicts has been removed. There are precautions, of course; an outer cordon of armed sentries; constant visitation of superior officials; a well-perfected system for intercommunication and reinforcement in case of alarm or escape, but these are by no means prominent. Yet in late years they have been so effective that no disturbances, no escapes, have occurred at Dartmoor. It may be urged that on that far off moorland the mere isolation is a sufficient safeguard. Obviously the converse holds true, and dangerous combinations might reasonably be feared among reckless men so far removed from the busy centres of life. But experience has negatived such apprehensions. Again at Borstal, near Chatham, where a large force of convicts are engaged in the construction of forts for the defence of the Medway, the work is carried on at a still greater distance from the prison than at Dartmoor. A line of railway with guarded

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trains conveys the convicts to points three and four miles away, where they labor at large, only checked and controlled by a cordon of sentries and a very perfect system of signalling. Perhaps the nearest approach to the *sections mobiles* already mentioned was tried at this very place, Borstal, in the preliminary stages of building the main prison. Parties of convicts were driven over daily from the neighboring large establishment of Chatham, five or six miles distant; they travelled in ordinary vans, under proper escort of course; but they were in a state of semi-freedom, very much as in the Austrian method, and they gave no trouble. The same system was practised in another enterprise, the construction of large powder magazines at Chattenden, also near Chatham, but not very many miles.

There is surely enough in these various experiments to encourage imitation on a wider scale. Countries seeking to reform, or, at least, to alter their penitentiary system, might adopt the principle of the penal colony with advantage on account of its greater utility, economy, and humanity, and more especially with regard to the substantial results it would attain both in protecting society and reforming offenders.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.

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AMERICAN BICYCLES IN ENGLAND.

BY GEORGE F. PARKER, UNITED STATES CONSUL, BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND.

THE relation between the bicycle industries of England and the United States has always been close, in spite of the fact that, in the beginning, it was one of almost absolute dependence on our part. Until recently American ingenuity has not been devoted, in any large degree, to the making of devices for the promotion of sport. Our artisans, having been too busy developing the necessary to give much time to the superflous, had few incentives to invent new devices or to make improvements upon the general principle of a two-wheeled machine for human locomotion.

The seat of the English bicycle industry has always been in Birmingham, and the towns in its neighborhood, thus practically concentrating the whole of the export trade into the Birmingham consular district, which includes the whole or part of twelve or fifteen counties in the heart of England. It was here that weldless steel tubes were first drawn and made a commercial product. This is an industry in which Americans were for a long time backward; manufacturers in other lines of the metal trade assuring me, during visits they made here in 1893 and 1894, that weldless steel tubes could not be made with profit in the Unites States. So the trade here was able to perfect safety cycles, and they were shipped to the United States in such numbers for several years that the makers came to look upon America as their principal outside market.

The value of machines sent from here from 1890, by which time the movement had gained enough headway to cause a separate classification, until 1893, was as follows: 1890, $324,961.07; 1891, $621,664.99; 1892, $761,352.95; 1893, $613,847.73. As an effect

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of the trade depression in the United States in 1893, the exports rapidly declined. When business revived, our manufacturers were well prepared for it and the demand for cycles was so successfully filled at home, that, up to the end of the second quarter of this year, not a single complete bicycle had been sent for many months through the Birmingham Consulate.

But it is the experience of this very busy district that one thing goes out and another comes in, a fact well proven by the growth of the weldless steel tube export. In 1894 this only amounted to $85,899.55. During 1895 it rose at a bound to $507,041.29, and during the first quarter of 1896 it reached $231,200.36. This movement was the result of unusual foresight on the part of the American bicycle-makers. They entered into such large contracts for Birmingham tubes that they really monopolized the product before the English bicycle manufacturers knew what had happened. Then two movements developed simultaneously. The English bicycle-makers must needs have tubes or they could not make machines, while American tube-makers saw a chance to supply their own market with these necessary materials.

In England the formation of tube and bicycle companies has been the distinctive industrial movement of the year. Men who had been makers on a small scale saw an opportunity to become, all at once, large makers of a product for which there was a general demand. Hence, small shops were enlarged; tool and machinery makers were put to work, and promoters found it profitable to float new limited liability companies. So strong was this movement that thirty-two of these were formed during the first six months of this year with a combined capital of nearly $55,000,000. Scarcely a week has passed since the first of July without a new company, so that the number for the year promises to be not less than fifty. The speculative value of the shares of the large concerns seems to be justified by the dividends, either declared or promised, upon the first half-year's working. Some of the profits reported have been enormous, but the opinion is general that they cannot continue for another full year. It is thus impossible to separate the speculative from the investment element. So many are interested in maintaining the prices of shares that all naturally want to put off the day when the decline shall begin. The large companies in existence before this move-

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ment began have shared in this speculative advance. Some of them had gone through a good many vicissitudes, but they seem to have so prospered under the influence of the general movement as to have become profitable concerns.

In the meantime the development of tube-making in the United States has been so rapid that shipments during the second quarter of this year dropped nearly one-half, to $130,253.84, and are still going down so rapidly that they promise within another year to reach almost the vanishing point. It is not necessary for me, at this distance, to tell progressive readers in the United States how the tube industry has developed there. But it is not less well known here in every establishment in which cycles or their component parts are made. Indeed, it is anticipated that tubes will be imported here next year from the United States for use in making cycles.

Except in the case of limited liability companies—most of which are too new to have made reports—it is far more difficult to get anything like complete returns of the number of employees and the extent of output than with us. The publicity incident to business is less, and trade jealousies are many fold stronger. It is estimated that there are in Birmingham about one hundred and fifty factories connected with the cycle trade in its various branches, with about fifteen hundred or eighteen hundred employees. In Coventry, which still remains the principal centre for complete machines, there are more than a hundred firms with about seventeen hundred employees. Wolverhampton, whose businesss has suffered during recent years, has found something of a revival through this trade, while several other less important "Black Country" towns have some machinery devoted to the making of cycle parts. All these are in the one consular district, within the limits of which fully 80 or 90 per cent. of all the cycles made in the United Kingdom are produced.

It is calculated that the output for the home trade will be about 750,000 cycles this year, valued at £11,000,000 or £12,000,000. The foreign trade also shows a substantial increase; the exports for 1895 being £1,393,810, against £1,200,913 for 1894. No comparative treasury returns later than the first quarter of 1896 are now available. Then the exports were valued at £444,509, against £329,096, in the corresponding quarter of 1895, and £329,535 for the same time in 1894. As to capital invested, the

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returns are quite as vague and are mainly estimates. According to these the limited companies engaged in the industry had a capital of about £6,000,000 at the end of last year; since which time similar companies have been floated with a capital roughly put down at £11,000,000, total of more than £17,000,000. When to this is added the large investment of private capital, it is probably within the mark to say that about £20,000,000, or nearly $100,000,000, has been invested in this industry. Its wide distribution was shown in a report made a few days ago by the Earl of Warwick, when, presiding over the statutory meeting of a new limited company, he stated that while the plant and fixtures were formerly owned by three men, the new shares were distributed among more than 4,000 separate holders. Nearly 2,000 patents were applied for last year for improvements and additions to cycles in their various branches. What proportion of these were issued to American inventors is not noted in the published returns.

The new element in the British cycle trade is American competition. This was entirely unlooked for, and at first the tendency to belittle it was apparent. The publication of the returns of the Treasury Department showing that from 12,000 to 15,000 high-priced machines of American manufacture had been offered in this market within a few months, coupled with the prediction that not less than 40,000 or 50,000 high-class machines would be imported next season, opened the eyes of many people. The presence of aggressive agents of American manufacturers in many of the larger towns, together with the competition of a number of expert riders in exhibitions and parades, have combined to remove a good deal of skepticism. Altogether, makers and the public now concede that American machines are likely to be an important factor even in the trade of the coming year, and to have a decided influence on prices and production if the demand for cycles continues here and grows in other parts of the world.

A word of advice to our manufacturers and dealers who hope to find a market here for some part of their product may not be amiss. The first caution I would give is concerning quality. There is a demand here, as everywhere else, for good wheels, at lower prices. The opinion is general that present prices for first-class machines are excessive, and that if the demand continues

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they must be reduced. Discounts to the trade have been reduced, causing many complaints, and being, in reality, an advance upon former prices. All this tempts both domestic and foreign manufacturers to cheapen products, so that they may meet the views of thousands of people, who, without money to waste, are still anxious to have good machines. This makes it imperative for our manufacturers not only to allow no deterioration in the quality of machines offered here, but that they should, if possible, give more value for the money here than at home. The reason for this is obvious. When a mechanical product is offered in a foreign market, and especially among a watchful and intelligent people like those of England, who resent such a competition in their own markets, the reputation of the exporting country is more at stake than that of the individual manufacturer. A hundred bad machines sent by one maker, remote from the known and recognized centres of commerce, might easily stop the sale of 10,000 machines made under the best and most careful systems in the largest factories in the United States, while a dozen shipments of this kind might ruin a promising trade. Anything like a sudden cheapening of prices would look suspicious, and be accepted as a lowering of quality. After our own people, none in the world are more willing to pay a reasonable profit upon an article for personal use than those of England, and as there are already too many machines here of the cheap and nasty order to warrant competition in this kind of product, it is to be hoped for the good name of our manufacturers and the country, that there will be no attempt to enter upon it.

I am convinced that the field here for American cycles cannot be capable of indefinite expansion. This more than any other is distinctively a manufacturing country with unlimited capital and large experience in meeting competition. Business methods are slower than with us and so do not allow such rapid adjustment to new conditions. In some cases trade has been permitted to slip away; but they are now watchful of increasing competition on all sides and are studying the question in all its bearings, with more care than for many years. They will hold as much as possible of a business like this when it becomes a settled one. This will be when it is shown that the bicycle has come to stay and that its manufacture is an industry in which account may be taken of the same elements that enter into every other branch of trade.

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In spite of this it is possible for our cycle-makers to find a good market here for some years for some proportion of their surplus product; and the important thing, it seems to me, is to use this opening for entrance into the larger and more important markets beyond. The people of the colonies are used to watch so closely for any signs in the mother country that probably the best recommendation for American cycles in Australia and South Africa would be the fact that they had made a place for themselves in England itself. I hope not only to see many thousands of American machines on the roads of England, but that this will enable our makers to send many more thousands into markets which they have not yet entered as serious competitors. This is not an unnatural course. Trade may first seek the most crowded marts and then, as it gains experience and clientage, make its way into others less crowded.

The most surprising element in this competition is that an enormous amount of American machinery and tools is already in use in cycle factories here. The tendency is to increase it, the admission being made everywhere, in the smaller as well as in the larger shops, that our machinery is better fitted for its work, and that its use insures a great saving of labor, as well as an improvement of the product in both quality and appearance. It matters little that some expert inquirers are asking what good result is to come from the heavy expenditure made for some years in establishing technical schools, if a country almost devoid of them is to demonstrate its superiority as a maker of tools. A great number of local bodies all over the kingdom have erected enormous buildings—the new one in Birmingham has cost nearly $400,000—have fitted them with every appliance for giving instruction in the trades of the district of which they are the centre, and have employed teachers and organized classes open to every apprentice and artisan at rates of tuition almost nominal. These have been the outgrowth of the recent competition from Germany, where technical schools are of long standing. It must be confessed that these institutions have been established in many places on a scale which, to a stranger, seems hardly to be justified by the use to which they are placed and the meagre results so far to be seen. I can but believe that our system of public free schools constitutes, after all, the best possible technical schools for a varied and complete industrial development.

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I am sometimes asked by users of American machines to caution the manufacturer and inventor not to sacrifice strength to lightness in weight. It is represented, in explanation, that the roads in England, by the hardness of their foundation, indeed by their very superiority, are more trying on bicycles than our own, which have, in the main, a dirt foundation. I presume the American manufacturer, with his habit of studying with care the wants and conditions of a new market before he enters it, has taken all this into account, and that if he has not already learned the facts he will soon do so. But the inability of our carriage-builders to make headway here with light vehicles tends to confirm this impression, and so I repeat it for what it may be worth.

On one subject I can speak with some authority, owing to the efforts I have made since this movement started to assist our manufacturers with suggestions. This is the matter of agencies for the sale of cycles. With us all sorts of these are found in every city, town, and village. This justifies the manufacturer at home in asking his consul at a given point to send him the names of men who might handle his machines. It seems to me, however, that there is only one safe way for large producers, and that is to establish their own agencies, choosing with care the men to be entrusted with the work. As a rule, the English maker does this, and all who seek to compete with him may well learn as early as possible that they must do the same thing if they expect to make headway. When small concerns seek to make sales here, several might combine for the purpose. The few agents found here usually represent certain makers, and accept other machines as a sort of incident to their business. As they push this one, which may have a considerable reputation, all others must take care of themselves. Every American business man will know what this means in a country far distant from the place of production, the very name of which may be unfamiliar to the purchaser. Several companies have already seen the difficulties, and, having sent their own agents, are pushing their business in accepted American fashion.

One other matter seems to me important. The wheels of most American machines offered here are made with wooden rims, which are thus far unfamiliar to the British market. Aside from the question as to their adaptability to the damp, muggy

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climate, there are peculiarities of structure not possessed by the ordinary machine of English build. It seems to me, then, that the important thing is to have repair shops in centres like London, Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, and Belfast. These need not be maintained by each company, but for the repair of American machines in general. They need not be large, but should be in the hands of efficient and practised workmen, who, being paid American wages, will know how to deal fairly with the great number of cycles for which our makers expect to find a sale here. Perhaps, as the use of our machinery is extended on this side, the necessity for this may disappear. The British workman can be absolutely depended on not to deal maliciously with an outside machine, but the conditions under which he works are so different from those in the shops where such cycles were made that he necessarily lacks knowledge or skill for dealing with them. The adoption of this suggestion would, I think, overcome some difficulties, and by reassuring the buyer on the point of convenience, price, and quality would enable many an agent to make a sale which would otherwise be difficult or impossible.

It is certainly creditable to the genius and adaptability of our people that they have taken up a new industry with such energy and success as to cut off all foreign trade in the completed product, and then in one of the principal articles entering into it, and that, within a few years, they should engage in competition with the foreigner in his own market and sell more machines in England, in the face of the severest competition from every quarter, than the English makers, with the whole supply in their hands, ever sold in the American market within the same length of time. It is much that in the year 1896, in addition to filling the home demand, our makers should send into the different countries of the world more than half the number of complete machines exported by British makers to the same markets during 1895. This having been done, it ought to be possible to supply the home demand and to sell to other peoples during the season of 1897 more machines than England, France, and Germany combined. An industry which can show such results as this within eleven years after its birth is entitled to be called a pretty lively infant.

GEORGE F. PARKER.

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THE DUTY OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.

BY THE HON. JAMES H. ECKELS, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

THE intimate relations existing in this country between business and politics have largely resulted from the changed conditions wrought by the war. The important legislation of the war period dealt with matters of tariff and currency; and in its character and aims tended to bring the action of the general government, as a determining factor of profit or loss, into each man's private undertakings. The tariff enactments directly affected the price of the manufactured product and of agricultural produce, while those upon the subject of banking, currency, and finance as markedly trenched upon matters which decided men in granting or withholding commercial credit. That presidential campaigns based upon questions of tariff and currency did not follow immediately upon the close of the war is not strange. These questions, of necessity, gave way to problems of governmental reconstruction of the Southern States, the rights to be accorded the freed slaves and the adjustment of the whole country to a new order of things. It thus came about that the campaign of 1868 was largely destitute of tariff and currency discussions, while that of 1872 was wholly given over to a contest upon lines designed to improve the civil service and raise the standard of official conduct. The nomination of Mr. Tilden, in 1876, was a victory for the advocates of a sound currency over the forces of fiatism in the Democratic party, and yet the contending parties fought out the contest almost entirely upon the issues of economy in public expenditures, the giving to the Southern States the right of local self-government, and the need of wholesome governmental reforms.

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The promise of a distribution of office in accordance with the most radical "spoils" idea, and the introduction into each campaign of incitements to sectional animosities and war hatreds, gave to the people a kind of politics which, while indirectly affecting the interests of business, did not wholly unsettle them. The campaign of Mr. Tilden, if it failed to secure to him the office to which he was elected, was not without beneficial results to the people. It secured to the Southern States the right of local self-government, banished Federal troops from State legislative halls, eliminated appeals from the stump and through the press to feelings of sectionalism, and impressed upon the succeeding administration the need of retrenchment in national appropriations. It was not until the declaration in the Democratic platform of 1880 in favor of "a tariff for revenue only" that it was seen how deeply concerned, because of the war revenue legislation upon matters of taxation, were a large number of the business interests of the country in the conduct and outcome of a national election. Whether the tariff question was introduced for purposes of frightening after the unexpected defeat in the State election in Maine in September of that year, or not, is immaterial. It did bring to public attention the fact that the effect of much of the past legislation had been to mix business and politics to such a degree that in future campaigns the condition of business must be seriously affected by the course of politics. In each succeeding presidential contest, with but a single exception, this has been made more patent. It was not manifest in 1884 only because the death of President Garfield, preceded by a long and bitter contest over the right of distribution of public patronage, coupled with the assaults upon the personal integrity of Mr. Blaine, introduced elements into the campaign which overshadowed all else. The campaigns of 1888 and 1892 were distinctively tariff ones. The manufacturer, the laborer, the agriculturist, and the consumer were all directly affected by the outcome of these campaigns, and compelled to readjust themselves to new conditions. The interest of all had been moulded in the largest measure by Congressional legislation; and, in consequence, the possibility of a change in the extent of legislative aid to be granted or withheld could not but cause business uncertainty, unwillingness to formulate new enterprises, and hesitancy about carrying out old ones.

PUBLIC DOMAIN

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Our tariff campaigns demonstrated the effect of the long and unnecessary continuance of unwise tax laws, until a point had been reached when it was unavoidable that the further maintenance of them should become a political issue and thereby cause a direct monetary loss to all the people. The currency campaign just ended bears with equal emphasis upon the same point, and from its inception to its close it has resulted in far greater business disaster. Just as the originating and the continuing of the protective enactments of the war found fruition in the political tariff agitations of 1888 and 1892, so did the passage of the Treasury currency act of 1861, with the kindred silver legislation of 1878 and 1890, culminate in the currency agitation we have so recently witnessed. The basic principle of the act of 1861 was governmental fiatism as applied to governmental currency issues, strengthened by attaching to them the legal-tender property. This was the principle also upon which the Bland-Allison act of 1878 rested, nor was it wanting in the Sherman silver act of 1890. It was manifestly the cornerstone of the doctrine of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, as its advocate has stated it in the past; and it must be his reliance in the future. The protective theory as applied to our tax laws, and the theory of fiatism as applied to our currency issues, have introduced into the citizens' private business the elements of legislative control to such an extent that injury instead of benefit has been the resultant effect. The business prosperity which is substantial and lasting excludes this factor of aid and control, just as a currency which is thoroughly sound must not depend upon legal sanction for any part of its value. As long as business prosperity is to be wrought or sought by law, the business world must be subject to the influence of the needs of party politics, the decrees of the political caucus, the demands of party leaders, and the whims of party law makers. Legislative control in the business world means, during each campaign, congressional and presidential, months of uncertainty, depression, and stagnation. It must entail hardship upon the laborer and loss upon the capitalist. Any temporary benefits which seem to flow from it are certain ultimately to be swallowed up in widespread disaster and ruin. It insures disturbance not in one or two but in innumerable interests which ought to be free to work out their own ends.

There could be no better time than the present for the busi-

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ness interests of the country to be rid of the harm incident to presidential and congressional contests based upon suggested governmental interference in business matters. The verdict of the November election marks how strongly the voter stands in favor of the gold standard of value and how thoroughly he resents any attempt to debase the nation's currency and impair its credit. It is equally as emphatic in its declaration against the forces of society which make for disorder, discontent, and danger to American institutions. Because of this pronouncement—the decision of the citizenship of the country united in the desire to preserve the country's integrity, not of a party held together by the cohesive power of public patronage—there has come renewed hope and confidence to the business world. American credit is rehabilitated at home and abroad. On every hand money and the representatives of money are coming out of hoarding and seeking the active channels of commerce and trade. The capitalist is now willing to invest, not because a particular political organization has been successful at the polls, or a particular individual elected president, but because the electorate have decided the one issue in the campaign, *the money issue*, in accordance with principles of honesty, the facts of financial history, and the dictates of common sense.

These first evidences of improved conditions have been taken to mean an era of unexampled prosperity, but such a state will not necessarily follow. Only the first step, though it be a long one, in that direction has been taken. The others to follow, if less important, are nevertheless essential. The citizens who aided in defeating the proposition to have law-made money for the benefit of one citizen as against another must now join in preventing the law-making powers from attempting to create law-made wealth, and, in so doing, free the country of the source of both currency and tariff agitations.

If "the all-powerfulness of the law" is invoked in behalf of tariff agitation it will, with a show of justification, be sought as an aid to the agitation of the money question, and the fight for a dollar of value as against a dollar of fiat will have again to be waged, with attendant business derangement, want of employment for labor and curtailment of credit. If Congress will

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now undertake only such tariff legislation as shall give an amount of revenue sufficient for the country's expenditures, remedying only patent defects in existing laws, and not attempt a general revision for protective purposes, there need be no realignment of contemplated business plans, nor any period of delay in the carrying out of those already matured. On the other hand, the following of a different course must throw the whole question back into the arena of polities to be debated, agitated and voted upon again. The country has passed through two complete tariff revisions within six years. It could hardly stand another, even were it in a thoroughly prosperous condition. It would be folly to undertake another now when it is so nearly exhausted.

The policy of placing the tariff laws of the country upon a true revenue basis would liberate the business man from governmental partnership and governmental control in his enterprises, and to this extent minimize the factors of uncertainty with which he must now deal. These factors can still further be reduced by the legislative branch of the government making such provision as will emphasize the voters' decision against any law-made money, whether it be of silver or of paper. The voter's act was not one of a merely negative character. He cannot wish to have it understood that he was simply voting against something. He at one and the same time both protested against false principles in monetary practice, and declared for that which is sound. His action can only be interpreted in the light of a demand for affirmative relief. This relief cannot be secured to him through legislative inaction. It is not enough that he is still to have the single gold standard of value, the right of private contract, and to be rid of the threatened danger of a debasement of the currency, whether brought about by attempted national or international bimetallism. He has had the gold standard for more than sixty years, enjoyed the right of private contract always and has never known in his country's history a single hour of practical bimetallism. The citizen ought now to have such laws enacted for him as will completely remove from him the danger of having his individual credit curtailed and his business ventures ruined by some act of his government in relation to the outstanding evidences of indebtedness which it has forced into circulation, which it never permanently

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redeems, and cannot, under existing laws, cancel. The proper business of the government is not to issue instruments of credit and circulate the same as money. Its fiscal duties lie in the direction of collecting and disbursing revenues; and whenever it undertakes to deal in evidences of debt, as a bank does, it inflicts loss upon the citizen, both in his capacity as a tax-payer and as a business man. Always at the time in the past when the business world has been threatened with trouble, the danger has been enhanced by the currency issues of the government. If, in normal times, the merchant or banker fails to notice their effect, that fact does not warrant their continuance, since it is evident that they are a cause of embarrassment in times of danger.

Here, then, is room for decisive affirmative relief. The payment, gradual retirement, and cancellation of the legal tenders and the authorizing of the banks, under governmental supervision, to issue the country's credit currency and redeem the same in gold, would be the crystallizing into a fact of the phrase "sound money." It is impossible entirely to rid the people of the notion that value can be created in silver and paper as long as those who protest against such a notion as absurd fail to do away with a currency which is so wholly dependant for support upon the promise of the law.

It is the fortune of the Republican party to have profited by the efforts of those, irrespective of past political affiliations, who, on November 3d, repudiated the doctrines of the fiatist, the Populist and the Socialist. If that party is sufficiently strong of purpose and courageous of action it will seize an opportunity such as is seldom vouchsafed to a political organization. It can entrench itself in power, evolve a thoroughly safe currency system, free the business world from unwise and unnecessary legislative interference and control, take the money and tariff questions out of politics, and hasten a long-continued period of prosperity which will come to all sections and to all citizens of the Republic. The victory gained was so little of a party victory that in matters of vital business legislation there can be no justification for a wish or a purpose to subserve party ends. The country certainly has a right to, and does, expect that everything shall be done that can be done to put an end to currency agitation and the growth of sentiments which tend to weaken the financial credit of the citizen and hinder him in his

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daily business pursuits. The threatened renewal of the struggle for a debased coinage can only assume serious proportions through a failure to do the things which would assure the country's material advance. Heretofore the strength of the agitation for a cheapened monetary standard and a cheap currency has been derived from the concessions and compromises tendered to those urging on such agitation by those who disbelieved in the one and knew the evils of the other. To-day there is neither room nor justification for surrendering a single iota of the advantage gained. The issue was fairly made, fairly fought out, and the result was decisive. The responsibility has been placed, and if the campaign of 1900 is again a currency struggle, it will be because the managers of the Republican party either interpreted wrongly or executed weakly the purpose of those who entrusted them with power.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

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HAS THE ELECTION SETTLED THE MONEY QUESTION?

BY THE HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

THE battle between bimetallism and the gold standard is on, and whether the campaign just closed proves to have been a decisive engagement or but a skirmish, it will stand out conspicuously in American history. On the third of November, 1896, the American people sat in judgment upon the greatest issue ever submitted to them in time of peace. Every one who studies the money question, either from the standpoint of those who desire bimetallism or from the standpoint of those who favor a gold standard, must recognize in it a question which transcends in importance any other economic question which can occupy the attention of the American people. When we determine the kind and quantity of money we determine the level of prices, and the level of prices concerns every family in the land. For the first time during this generation the money question has been the paramount issue of a political campaign. For twenty years past the financiers have succeeded in writing the financial plank for the conventions of the two leading parties and then have controlled the Presidential nominations. The platforms have generally been sufficiently ambiguous to bear a double construction, and the candidates have usually been known as "safe men," according to the definition given to that phrase on 'change. As a rule, the moneyed interests have looked after our financial policy, while the rest of the people have quarreled over the tariff. The Republican party met in convention last June and attempted to again give the tariff question pre-eminence, but when the Democratic, Populist, and Silver parties agreed in declaring for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without wait-

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ing for the aid or consent of any other nation, the Republicans found it impossible to confine discussion to the tariff issue. In fact, the silver question soon absorbed public attention to such an extent that it became practically the sole political topic considered throughout the country. People discussed the present legal status of the silver dollar, the various laws affecting silver, the amount of production, the cost of production, etc., etc. To the world at large this nation presented the interesting and inspiring sight of seventy millions of people thinking out their own salvation. Men who had never spoken in public before became public speakers; mothers, wives, and daughters debated the relative merits of the single and the double standards; business partnerships were dissolved on account of political differences; bosom friends became estranged; families were divided—in fact we witnessed such activity of mind and stirring of heart as this nation has not witnessed before for thirty years. Foreign newspapers daily reported the progress of the campaign and students of political economy came from Europe to obtain a closer view of the struggle. It is probable that the money question has been studied within the last four months by more people than ever before in all the history of the world simultaneously engaged in its consideration. And what was the result of that study? Temporary defeat, but permanent gain for the cause of bimetallism. It is a significant fact that the silver sentiment was strongest where the question had been longest considered. In the West and South, where the people had been actively engaged in the discussion of bimetallism for several years, the majority favored the restoration of the money of the Constitution. In the Eastern States where, until recently, there was practically no general consideration of the money question, the gold sentiment was strongest. There, the people had, up to the opening of this campaign, heard only one side. In those States both parties were against free coinage; nearly all the leading newspapers were against it; the banking interests were against it; the corporations were against it; and it was also opposed by those influential members of society who live under the influence of the financial and corporate interests.

Until the Democratic National Convention adopted an emphatic declaration in favor of free coinage at 16 to 1, our side of the question had few defenders in the Eastern States. After the

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convention adjourned, the Democratic party in the East was reorganized, new men were placed in control, and the work of education was commenced. The result, instead of being discouraging, is full of encouragement. When before has a great cause made such rapid progress in so short a time as bimetallism has made in the Eastern States? When has more real heroism been displayed than has been displayed there this year? If any one thinks that the fight for bimetallism is over, let him ask himself when a single defeat ever disheartened such men as those who have this year advocated free, unlimited, and independent coinage? When men's convictions are so strong that they will face political defeat without flinching, defy financial despotism, and risk social ostracism in behalf of a cause, they do not surrender because they lose one battle.

It must be remembered further that we fought against great odds in the Middle States also. The Democratic party in Wisconsin and Minnesota declared against silver in the conventions which sent delegates to Chicago. In Michigan the convention was nearly equally divided on the money question, and there was a bitter contest within the party in Iowa, Indiana, and Ohio. In Illinois we were at a great disadvantage because the influence of the Chicago press was thrown almost entirely against free coinage, and this influence pervaded nearly all the States of the Upper Mississippi Valley.

Throughout the entire Union the trusts, corporations, and banking interests were for the most part organized against silver, and these interests could act in concert on a moment's notice, while prompt co-operation was difficult, if not impossible, among the masses. The campaign did not afford sufficient time to bring clearly before the people an important truth which investigation must reveal, namely, that on the money question the interests of the money-owning classes are not identical with the interests of the wealth-producing classes. A dollar which increases in purchasing power is an advantage to those who trade in money and to those who hold fixed investments, but it is an injury to those who owe money and must purchase it with the proceeds of toil. It must be evident, therefore, that the people familiarly known as financiers cannot be trusted to frame a financial policy for the whole people unless they are entirely free from the selfishness which is generally supposed to be a well-nigh universal trait of

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mankind. Money loaners have never been known to advocate laws reducing the legal rate of interest; why should they be expected to advocate a financial system which will stop the appreciation of money?

The advocates of free coinage have asserted that the gold standard is a conspiracy organized by the great financiers of the world to lessen the volume of the world's standard money for the double purpose, first, of raising the purchasing power of a given quantity of money, and, second, of making it easier to corner the supply of standard money. The advocates of free coinage believed the charge when they made it, and they believe it still. Inspired by the conviction that they are laboring in behalf of a large majority of the people, not only here, but throughout the world, they will continue their fight, confident that four more years of experience will convince many who have thus far resisted argument.

Some of our opponents, rejoicing in victory, are attempting to cry down any further consideration of the money question. They complain that agitation disturbs business, and they accuse the advocates of free coinage of stirring up discontent. The violent epithets used by some of the worshippers of gold recall the story of the London fish-wife who was remonstrated with for abusing an eel. She justified her language by saying that the eel would not keep still while she was skinning it. Those who suffer because of the gold standard can hardly be expected to keep quiet and look pleasant while the injury continues. Hard names do not relieve their sufferings. They too want confidence restored, but it must be a confidence that their condition will be improved—not that their lot will be made still harder.

Agitation is the only means by which wrong can be redressed under our form of government. The man who denounces agitation simply opposes the discussion of a public question, and the man who attempts to put a stop to the discussion of a public question confesses his hostility to our form of government. In a nation where the people govern, they must be free to consider any subject which concerns their welfare. Those who are disposed to suppress any further agitation upon the money question should remember that the opponents of bimetallism have always been ready to agitate whenever they desired to secure legislation. During his first administration, Mr. Cleveland recommended the

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suspension of coinage under the Bland Act—those who supported him were not afraid of disturbing business then. During his second term he succeeded in securing the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Law—the Boards of Trade, the Chambers of Commerce, the financiers and the gold standard press did not hesitate to disturb business then. All legislation temporarily disturbs business to a greater or less extent, and yet the Democrats (the gold Democrats included) commenced agitating for the repeal of the McKinley Tariff Act as soon as it became a law, and the Republicans (the gold Republicans included) commenced agitating for the repeal of the Wilson Tariff Act as soon as it became a law. The New York Reform Club was organized for the purpose of agitation; it first agitated against the protective tariff and then against bimetallism. The Home Market Club was organized to carry on an agitation against tariff reform. I mention these instances to show that the people who now oppose agitation against the gold standard have always been willing to agitate when they were not satisfied with existing legislation.

Those who regard this election as a conclusive settlement of the question at issue should recall the recent political history of the United States. The exact vote cannot be given at the time this article is written, but it is so close that a change of less than thirty thousand votes, properly distributed over several States, would overcome the Republican majority in the electoral college. The vote was so nearly even in Kentucky, South Dakota, and Wyoming that a change of one thousand votes either way would change twenty electoral votes. On the basis of the electoral vote, therefore, there is nothing to guarantee permanence in the victory for the gold standard. But even if the Republican triumph was more sweeping than the figures at present indicate, it would not settle the next campaign. In the past, parties have often recovered quickly from what seemed overwhelming defeat. In 1872 Mr. Greeley was defeated, and yet in 1876 Mr. Tilden was believed by the Democrats to have been elected. Mr. Blaine was defeated in 1884, and yet Mr. Harrison was elected in 1888. The Republican victory of 1888 was quickly followed by the Democratic victory of 1890 and the election of President Cleveland two years later. The election of President Cleveland by a large majority in 1892 was followed two years later by an enormous

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Republican victory. The changes which have taken place in the past indicate the possibilities of the future. There is only one prophecy which can be made with certainty of fulfilment, and that is, that the American people will study a subject until they understand it and will then settle it. Changes of opinion will go on until the best solution of every question is found. Our form of government is based upon the theory that the people are capable of self-government. This theory is, in my judgment, well founded. The people have both the intelligence and the patriotism to select and to secure for themselves those policies which are best. They are now engaged in an effort to discover and secure a satisfactory financial policy, and it would be a reflection upon them to say that they would permanently accept an unsatisfactory policy. Experience plays an important part in the settlement of public questions. That financial and industrial conditions are unsatisfactory at this time, no one denies. The advocates of free coinage have insisted that these conditions are largely due to the gold standard. They insist that falling prices are but an evidence that gold is rising, and they assert that the rise in the purchasing power of an ounce of gold is due to legislation which has increased the demand for gold. The Republicans, on the other hand, have blamed the Wilson bill for the present hard times and have promised to restore prosperity by opening the mills. The next four years will determine whether the Republican promises can be fulfilled.

In 1890, in a report which accompanied his tariff bill Mr. McKinley said: "That there is widespread depression in this industry (agriculture) to-day, cannot be doubted." This admission was made after the country had had thirty years of protective tariff. This depression in agriculture is more widespread and acute to-day than it was six years ago. In the same report Mr. McKinley said: "This great industry (agriculture) is foremost in magnitude and importance in our country. Its success and prosperity are vital to the nation. No prosperity is possible to other industries if agriculture languish." He was correct in asserting that prosperity must begin with the farm. The farmer has suffered because the price of agricultural products has fallen, while taxes, debts, and many other fixed charges have not fallen in the same proportion. His total income has decreased while his necessary expenditures have stubbornly refused to de-

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crease, and he has been compelled to economize in his living expenses. The President-elect recognized this fact in 1890 because he said in the report above referred to: "We do not believe that our people, already suffering from low prices, can or will be satisfied with legislation which will result in lower prices." In the late campaign the laboring men have been told that low prices are an advantage to them, while the farmers have been pointed to the advantage of higher prices. It is going to be very difficult for the incoming administration to secure higher prices for the farmer and lower prices for the wage-earner. It must be remembered also that the financiers have denounced as dishonest any dollar which falls in purchasing power. Will the advocates of a gold standard try to raise prices and thus, according to their own language, become repudiators? Will they be willing to have debts paid with dollars which will buy less than the dollars borrowed? If, on the other hand, the maintenance of the gold standard results in a continuation of low prices, or, as bimetallists believe, in still lower prices, then the condition of the farmer will become worse than it has been in the years just past.

If our opponents imagine that the bimetallists will be easily defeated in 1900, let them remember that thousands of Republicans have been held to that party this year by the pledge that their party will try to secure international bimetallism. If the party did not intend this pledge to be relied upon, why was it inserted? If Republicans have relied upon it, will they not be disappointed when the four years pass without a successful effort to secure co-operation on the part of European nations? We have charged that international bimetallism was not seriously contemplated by those who wrote the Republican platform, and that the pledge was made to deceive the voters; the next few years will sustain or disprove our charge.

The gold standard Democrats cannot do as much harm in 1900 as they have done this year. At Chicago they advocated a financial plank almost identical with the one adopted by the Republicans. They declared that free coinage would interfere with international bimetallism, toward which, they added, all efforts should be directed. The fact that the gold Democrats, whose devotion to international bimetallism approached the pathetic so long as they were members of the Chicago Convention, forgot all about it when they reached Indianapolis, illustrates the lack of

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candor which has all along characterized the advocates of the gold standard. During the last three months the gold Democrats have gone up and down the land loudly declaring their affection for Democratic principles, while they have striven to undo all that Jefferson and Jackson labored to accomplish; and in order to give a touch of humor to their campaign they prefixed the word "National" to the word "Democrat," although they neither expected nor desired their ticket to carry a single county in the entire nation. They used their party organization for the purpose of misleading others, while they themselves spared no effort to secure the success of the Republican ticket. They cannot disguise themselves again.

This year many employees were either directly or indirectly compelled to support the Republican ticket. To even a greater extent the creditor classes coerced the debtors. Coercion and intimidation will not be supported by public opinion. If the employer has a right to control the vote of his employee, then he should be made secure in that right by legislation which will prevent independence upon the part of the employee. If, on the other hand, the employer has no right to control the vote of his employee, then any attempt to do so must arouse public indignation. If the creditor has a right to control the vote of the debtor, then he, too, should be so protected by law that the debtor cannot evade him. If, on the other hand, he has no right to control the vote of the debtor, then any attempt to do so cannot be defended before the American people.

The contest for financial independence will go on. "An American financial policy for the American people" will still be the motto of those who have in this campaign advocated the free coinage of silver on equal terms with gold. We entered the contest with a disorganized army; we emerge from it a united and disciplined force without the loss of a soldier. We are ready for another contest. We shall watch legislation, discuss every movement made by the enemy and keep before the public the principles for which we contend. We believe that we are right, and, believing that right will finally triumph, we face the future firm in the belief that bimetallism will be restored.

W. J. BRYAN.

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A PROBLEM OF ARIDITY.

BY C. M. HARGER.

THE West is harvesting the fruitage of the seed sown in the boom time of seven and eight years ago. The burdens entailed by that spasm of speculation upon the prairies have never ceased to trouble, but the time has come when they represent more than mere uneasiness in the management of debts. The situation constitutes a problem that calls for the most careful and skilful treatment in order that the investors, as well as the settlers who were so willing to bond themselves, may be protected. Thousands of investors are carrying over-due loans, wondering what to do—whether to bring suit for recovery or to credit the loss to "experience." On the other hand there are many Western communities that are embarrassed by the burden of indebtedness and taxation, and are as eager to discover a way out of their difficulties as are the people at the other end of the line. They find themselves without the means to meet the obligations which they incurred when it was supposed that every hamlet would be a city and every farm a town "addition." The problem is a serious one, and it is felt to be so in many a home where the savings of years are tied up in the investment "out West."

The decrease in values in the far West is almost inconceivable to one who has not been through the change from inflation to depression. Hundreds of prairie cities are finding their real estate almost unsalable. They were once so sure of being the centres of the business life for a large surrounding country that the fall is beyond their comprehension. A sale of the assets of a Central Kansas bank that failed in 1889 was held the other day, and many lots in Western town additions that had been a part of the bank's assets were sold to the highest bidder for thirty cents apiece. They had been appraised at $70 each when the

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bank failed; but, as they were on the outskirts of a place that had lost its grip on prosperity, they had nothing to keep them above the level of farm land. Farms in the western part of Nebraska and Kansas are in the same condition. They are not salable except where they can be combined into large ranches, and where the owners are possessed of clear titles. Thousands of these are owned in the East under the deed of a sheriff, through the process of foreclosure. The loans that were made on them in the halcyon days are past due, and the mortgagees have taken their own.

What of the dwellers on these lands? They have gone. When the crops did not grow they packed up their belongings, mortgaged their claims to the limit, and started for that Mecca of the unsuccessful Westerner—"back East to the wife's folks." Here is the record of some of the counties in Western Kansas, showing the population in 1887 and in the present year:

	1887.	1896.
Clark	5,078	1,473
Comanche	5,004	1,200
Edwards	4,717	3,147
Ford	9,218	5,003
Grant	2,716	494
Gray	4,896	1,249
Greeley	4,646	852
Harper	17,655	9,235
Haskell	2,848	587
Hodgeman	4,589	1,860
Kearney	2,891	1,046
Lane	3,630	1,666
Meade	4,457	1,652
Morton	2,560	320
Ness	6,667	3,972
Pawnee	7,284	4,442
Scott	2,830	1,045
Seward	2,552	688
Stanton	2,864	471
Stevens	2,663	678
Wichita	2,637	1,432

This is a condition that tells its own story. It is eloquent of broken hopes and of longing that was unsatisfied. The traveller who drives over the plains sees the farms deserted and the sod-houses, looking like exaggerated prairie-dog huts, standing here and there, telling where some family tried to make a home and failed. The fields that were tilled while the rains came and afterward, as long as the settler could stay and live on hope, are degenerating to the old-time wildness. The hunters rejoice, for the game is coming back to the far Western plains.

This has all resulted, not from the lack of effort, but from the

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fact that not enough water has fallen in the Western third of Kansas and Nebraska to make the crops grow. That is the whole matter. It is not bad judgment or politics that has driven these thousands out of the Eden that they had sought, but the failure of crops. Kansas has lost a quarter of a million in population in this way, and the fact has exerted a depressing influence on those who remain. It is the difference between the rising and the falling tide. The loss has occurred entirely in the Western counties, for the Eastern part of the State has in the past year gained 18,000 in population, while the State as a whole has gained only 1,900, although the births outnumbered the deaths by several thousands.

The people of the West are the bravest on earth in their fight to make homes and amass a competence, but they have to realize the situation. One city in Kansas has issued a circular, saying that the town is unable to pay its indebtedness and the valuation is decreasing at so rapid a rate that it will be necessary to have a concession from those who hold the bonds of the town, or to move out and start another city near by the site of the old one. The circular quotes figures to show the condition of the municipality, and it is not worse than that of many a town on the frontier. There are places where there is not a dweller in one-tenth of the houses, where the ten-thousand dollar schoolhouse is empty, the expensive city hall is without an inhabitant, and the double brick and frame stores are the shelter of the beasts of the plain. These are the towns out on the prairie where there should never have been a town.

Then there are counties where the people are at their wits' end to find a way out of the difficulty into which they have been led by the reckless manner in which they have voted bonds and adopted expensive customs and luxuries. One county in Kansas has issued a notice to its creditors. It says that the land is assessed for more than it is worth and that the people will not pay taxes on it. This year more than two-fifths of the county was sold for taxes as delinquent. There were nearly three thousand pieces of real estate put up at auction, while the tax rate is five per cent. on the valuation. This county frankly says that the only way out of its predicament is for the bondholders to consent that the debts shall be reduced and put at a point that can be reached by the people. This is another case where there has

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been too extravagant living in the past; and the people are paying the penalty for it. The valuation in this county has fallen off $900,000 since 1888, and the population has fallen from 9,000 to 5,000. The circular, which is sent out by the County Commissioners, closes thus: "Our condition is this: more taxes, less value; less value, higher rates; higher rates, personal property leaves; personalty leaves, population goes; population gone, business stops; business stops, the land is yours and what will you do with it?"

This is the serious question that faces the semi-arid region of the West, and upon its answer depends the prosperity of thousands of brave men and women and their families. They have tried faithfully to make the life on the plains a success, and the result is not what they expected. But, on the other hand, the result to the investor has been disappointing. There is on his part a keen feeling that there has been mismanagement by the farmer—but he has not been out on the prairie. He has not seen the crops fail because of drought. He has not seen the clouds roll up in the northern sky at twilight, night after night, and then go back without the falling of a drop of the needed rain.

Much is hoped from irrigation, but that cannot do everything. The commission appointed by the State of Kansas to investigate the outlook for the irrigation interests has its report ready. It shows how the western third of the State has in some sections an abundance of water for the moistening of crops, but says that the farmers do not know how to use the supply. They are too eager to make a showing, and they will not irrigate a small area on which they could make a success, for they want to have a large quantity of land under ditch. One farmer confessed that he knew that he had water enough to irrigate only five acres, but he tried to wet ten. "I thought if I couldn't irrigate ten acres I wouldn't have any," was his answer to the inquiry as to his foolishness.

About 2,500 plants are in operation, however, in Kansas alone, and these are on the average furnishing the living of five persons each. This means that there are over 12,000 people provided for, and they can be depended upon not to ask for seed-wheat or to petition the Legislature for help. The leader of the commission, however, says that in his opinion the western part of the

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State cannot be used for general agriculture, as that part of the State is more suitable for the stock-raiser and the ranchman. The farmers who are trying to live there by crop-raising alone must go. The man with the hoe is out of his element unless he can turn into the ditch plenty of water. This can be done only in circumscribed sections, but indeed the supply of moisture is not of the best anywhere. Up in the mountains and in the foothills they are taking the water for their great irrigation enterprises before it can reach the people of the plains.

So the investor is confronted by the peculiar condition of having his money tied up where he cannot get it, and where the security is not what he wants. The plan that has been proposed by the commissioners of some of the counties that are in debt, that the mortgagees be generous and scale down the indebtedness, and that the debtors then refund the amount and start over again, is in many cases the only way out of the situation, and the outlook is such that there seems to be profit in the project. The West must have this problem solved in some way before that part of it which lies on the eastern slope of the Rockies is to reach its full fruitage. There are no opportunities for the adoption of new laws that will make the settlement of this section more suitable to the nature of the climate. This was tried and the "timber culture" laws were adopted. The result is that here and there on the bleak plains are scanty growths of cottonwoods that have the appearance of being stunted in their birth, and are battling with the fierce winds as only the unnourished tree can battle. The climate which was to be changed by the trees has not changed, and the farmers, when they have obeyed the injunctions of the law, and secured a title to their claims, plow up the timber and put the land into kafir corn.

The western third of Kansas lost thirteeen thousand people last year; Nebraska's western third nearly as many, and thousands had gone before that. Those who remain recognize that there is before them a serious question. That is: Shall we try it again or go? If we try it again, upon what basis shall the trial be made? The old one of undiversified farming has failed. Debts have been assumed. Payment is due. How shall the new beginning be made? This is the problem of the West to-day.

CHARLES MOREAU HARGER.

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OUR TRADE WITH SOUTH AMERICA.

BY THEODORE C. SEARCH, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS.

INTEREST in the development of foreign trade in American manufactures has been greatly stimulated during the past two years by the lessened demand for goods at home. Manufacturers have found the capacity of the home market insufficient to absorb their normal output, and the only avenue of relief has presented itself in an enlarged export trade. Concurrently with this diminished home demand has come a marked shrinkage in the prices of material and in wages, with a consequent reduction in the cost of manufacture. The result of these two conditions —need for new markets and ability to compete with foreign manufacturers—is manifest from the figures of the export trade of the United States for the year ended June 30, 1896. During that period the exports of American manufactured products exceeded by $45,000,000 the exports of similar goods for any other yearly period. The increase of exports from $183,595,743 worth of manufactured products in 1894–5 to $228,489,893 in 1895–6 is nearly double the gain in any previous year. With the exception of the period of the Civil War, when the lessened export of cotton increased the percentage of manufactured products in the total exports, the proportion of manufactures in the aggregate of the foreign sales of American goods never was so large as in the year just closed. In the twelve months ended June 30, 1896, 26.47 per cent. of the exports from the United States consisted of manufactured products, against 23.14 per cent. in 1894–5 and 21.14 per cent. in 1893–4.

It is evident from these statistics of our export trade during the fiscal year just ended, as well as from the heavy outward flow of goods from all our ports at the present time, that efforts to

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secure footholds in foreign markets have been peculiarly aggressive during the past year. There is further evidence of this in the unusual number of American manufacturers who have spent the past summer abroad, not in pleasure, but in the pursuit of business. It was remarked a few weeks ago by the editor of one of the leading technical papers that nearly every prominent American maker of machine tools had been in Europe during the summer in quest of orders. I presume that there has been a proportionate activity in other branches of industry which are able to compete for foreign trade.

In all this aggressive movement to secure for the United States a larger share of the trade of the outer world, probably nothing has been so significant of the practical determination of American business men as the recent tour of investigation in South America by a commission representing the National Association of Manufacturers. A dozen representative manufacturers left their business for three months and journeyed 20,000 miles to study the conditions of trade in Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic, to find out the requirements of the markets of those countries and to ascertain the possibilities of a larger trade in American products. It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the intense interest with which this mission was regarded in South America, and the powerful stimulus it has given to the consideration of all questions bearing upon the trade relations between the United States and the countries to the south of us. The members of this party were received everywhere with overwhelming hospitality, and nothing was left undone by public officials and business men in Brazil, Uruguay and the Argentine to make completely successful and satisfactory the investigations undertaken by the committee. All this has directed public attention strongly toward South America as a possible market for greater quantities of American merchandise, and has created an eager demand for more information about South America and South American conditions and trade. What has been learned by this Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers will add much to the store of information of this character.

Consideration of the conditions and the possibilities of South American trade naturally resolves itself into a few practical questions concerning the extent of the foreign trade of the South American countries, the distribution of this trade among the

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various nations, the share of the United States in this commerce and the means by which that share can be increased.

The aggregate trade of South America with Europe, England, and North America amounts to close upon $700,000,000 per annum. As some of the South American republics gather no complete statistics of imports and exports, and as the figures of others are defective, it is difficult to deal accurately with the foreign commerce of these countries. I have taken, therefore, as the basis for my statistical deductions, the figures compiled by the United States Treasury Department—evidently from the reports of various nations dealing with South America—and published in the *Monthly Summary* for April, 1896. From these figures I have made up the following table to show the trade of the principal nations with South America in 1894. Trade between the various South American countries, which forms a large total, is omitted in this statement.

TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS WITH SOUTH AMERICA, 1894.

(Imports from and Exports to South American Countries.)

Countries.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
Brazil	$157,979,961	$96,591,768	$254,571,729
Argentine	123,956,158	57,067,950	181,024,108
Chili	58,900,700	23,438,948	82,339,648
Venezuela	19,268,609	10,771,920	30,040,529
Colombia	14,600,982	14,665,159	29,266,141
Uruguay	12,721,118	15,071,901	27,793,019
Peru	20,335,197	5,611,094	25,946,291
Guianas	10,927,855	10,650,528	21,578,383
Ecuador	5,739,729	2,906,708	8,646,437
Other S. A. countries	5,769,151	2,978,626	8,747,777
Total	$430,199,460	$239,754,602	$669,954,062

Brazil and the Argentine Republic together transact two-thirds of the trade between South America and the principal nations, the proportion being about the same in the imports, exports, and total. Brazil furnishes at present by far the largest market in South America for European, British, and American goods, taking two-fifths of the imports, and participating to nearly the same extent in the export trade of the Southern continent.

It is of more immediate interest to the business men of the United States, however, to study the distribution of South America's foreign trade among the various countries that participate in this commerce. To show this I have compiled from the source already indicated a table which gives imports from

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and exports to South America by each of the principal nations, with the percentage of the trade transacted by each country. This statement is as follows:

TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS WITH SOUTH AMERICA, 1894.
(Imports from and exports to South America.)

Countries.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Percentage.		
				Imports.	Exports.	Total.
United States.....	$100,147,107	$32,644,450	$132,791,557	23.27	13.62	19.82
United Kingdom...	83,492,064	97,118,639	180,610,703	19.40	40.51	26.95
Austria-Hungary..	9,444,276	1,385,688	10,829,964	2.20	.58	1.62
Belgium.....	38,483,635	6,652,277	45,135,912	8.93	2.77	6.73
Denmark.....	1,189,540	54,375	1,243,915	.26	.02	.18
France.....	84,939,300	49,909,800	134,849,100	19.80	20.82	20.13
Germany.....	83,489,210	34,811,308	118,300,518	19.46	14.52	17.67
Italy.....	5,514,589	9,620,471	15,135,060	1.26	4.01	2.26
Netherlands.....	15,772,212	1,776,336	17,548,548	3.65	.74	2.62
Spain.....	5,966,715	4,200,033	10,166,748	1.37	1.75	1.52
Sweden.....	888,420	188,940	1,077,360	.20	.08	.16
Canada.....	872,392	1,392,285	2,264,677	.20	.58	.34
Total.....	$430,199,460	$239,754,602	$669,954,062	100	100	100

It will be observed from this table that while the United States is the largest buyer of South American products, taking $15,000,000 more than any other country and nearly one-fourth of all that goes to Europe, England and America, there is no proportionate reciprocity in the trade; for South American countries buy more largely of Great Britain, Germany and France than of the United States. This disproportion in our trade with South America is due to the fact that we are a nation of coffee drinkers. Take out of our imports from South America the $70,000,000 worth of coffee that we buy, and our trade in that direction at once assumes a properly balanced condition, with imports and exports about equal.

Great Britain and Italy are the only nations that have anything of a balance on the right side in their South American trade, the only countries that are able to sell more than they buy there. England dominates the South American markets by virtue of vast investments of British capital, by the enjoyment of cheap and speedy ocean transport and by abundant facilities for international banking. Add to these advantages a low cost of manufacture and a studious regard for the peculiar requirements of each country's trade, and it is not difficult to understand why

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England sells to South America three dollars' worth of goods for every dollar's worth we can sell there. Italy's South American trade, though only one-twelfth as large as Great Britain's, shows a large excess of exports over imports. This is due first of all to sentimental considerations—the existence of a large Italian immigrant population in the River Plate countries looking to the mother country for supplies. The Italian steamship lines running direct to the principal South American ports, and the Italian banking houses in the great trade centers of South America, aid mightily in developing trade with Italy. Germany and France each buy as much as England in South America, but the one sells only half and the other about a third as much as Great Britain.

Turning now to our own trade with South America, many suggestive facts present themselves as the figures are analyzed. Our enormous imports of coffee from Brazil, amounting to $60,000,000 in the year ended June 30, 1895, and $55,000,000 in 1896, not only give that country first place in the South American trade of the United States, but also third and sometimes second rank among all the nations from which we buy. Only Great Britain and Germany sell more than Brazil to the United States. But while nearly one-tenth of our imports came from Brazil in the fiscal year just ended, not one-fiftieth part of our exports went to that country. Brazil sells to us and with the proceeds buys from England and France. What Venezuela buys from the United States is usually only about one-third of what we buy from that country, but our trade with the other South American countries shows a fairly equal balance of imports and exports.

In the past forty-five years our trade with South America has grown from $30,170,160 to $145,170,224, nearly a five-fold increase. The total foreign trade of the United States has increased in the same period only about four times—from $399,686,688 to $1,662,316,962. Exports from the United States to South America have increased in forty-five years from $9,750,576 to $36,298,984. While there has been a large increase of imports into the United States from South America since 1890, there has been a considerable decrease in our exports in that direction, owing to the great collapse of British speculation in the Argentine; but it is interesting to note that Great Britain has suffered

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far more heavily than the United States in this respect. From 1890 to 1894 our imports from South America increased from $90,006,144 to $100,147,107, while our exports thereto decreased from $39,764,970 to $33,212,310. In the same period British imports from South America increased from $72,989,003 to $82,734,672, and the exports dropped from $128,787,320 to $96,954,526. Thus while England and the United States both increased their imports from South America by $10,000,000 during these four years, Great Britain lost $31,832,797 of export trade, or nearly twenty-five per cent., and the United States lost only $6,552,660, or about one-sixth.

A little inquiry into the nature of our present exports to South America and the comparison of our trade with that of Great Britain in staple lines may be suggestive of directions in which the sale of our products in South America might be enlarged. The bulk of our present exports to South America consists of products which meet but little or no competition from other countries. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895, commodities of this class figured in the exports of the United States to South America as follows: Flour, $4,563,905; petroleum, $3,203,217; hog products, $4,673,643; lumber, timber, etc., $2,784,319; a total of $15,224,084 out of exports aggregating $33,248,231. The extension of the trade in these products depends less upon the competion of other countries than upon the local conditions in South America, the tariffs imposed by the different governments, and the treaty relations of the United States with those countries.

Other American goods, the products of more advanced stages of manufacture are exported largely to South America. As Great Britain is our most formidable competitor, it is interesting to compare the exports of a few important items of manufactured articles from England and the United States to South America. The British figures are for the calendar year 1895, and the United States figures cover the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895.

	From United States.	From United Kingdom.
Agricultural implements and machinery	$1,313,744	$3,248,407
Carriages, carts, etc	456,073	1,121,527
Cotton cloths	3,475,823	28,303,846
Hardware, tools, etc	640,156	1,827,127
Machinery, engines, etc	2,785,810	4,406,035
Total	$8,671,606	$38,906,942

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This table may properly be accepted as the key to the larger South American market which our manufacturers desire to reach, for it shows broadly the five general classes of merchandise in which we are making fair competition with England, but of which we are as yet furnishing only a small share to the people of South America. It appears that the opportunity for the extension of the export trade of the United States in South America lies chiefly along the general lines indicated above.

To follow up successfully the suggestion which is thus given, the manufacturers of the United States need certain information about the markets of South America, the classes of goods that are saleable there, the prices at which they are sold, the terms of credit, and the manner of payment, the names and standing of leading houses, and explicit information concerning the peculiar requirements and conditions in each important market. If we hope to effect a material increase in our exports of manufactured products we must know more of the needs, manners, and customs of foreign peoples than can be learned in hurried visits to the various countries. The success of British, Germans, French, and Belgians in extending their trade in foreign markets is due in large measure to their close personal contact with the purchasers. We must send our men to South America to live among prospective customers, to know and understand the people and obtain their friendship and confidence. Continuous, persistent, personal work is what will bring the quickest, largest, and most lasting enlargement of our trade abroad.

We need better facilities for carrying our goods to foreign markets. The United States is practically of no account in the ocean-carrying trade, and in many of the large ports of the world the American flag is almost unseen and unknown as an emblem of commerce. In fifty years our foreign commerce has increased from $227,497,313 to $1,662,316,962, but the total tonnage of our merchant marine engaged in foreign trade has decreased from 1,047,454 tons to 822,347 in the same time. With nearly eight times the foreign commerce we had half a century ago, we now have only four-fifths of the ocean-carrying tonnage we then had. More than two-thirds of our imports and exports formerly were carried in American vessels, while now but little more than a tenth of this trade is borne in our ships. Not only do the profits earned in transporting millions of dollars' worth of mer-

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chandise to and from our ports pass chiefly into the hands of foreign vessel owners, but the vessels themselves are built in foreign yards, giving employment to thousands of men in an industry which ought to be planted in our country.

As in our ocean commerce, so also in our financial relations with other countries, we are dependent largely upon the services rendered by foreign interests. Particularly in our dealings with the nations to the south of us we are in urgent need of direct international banking facilities. We do $150,000,000 worth of business with South America in a year, and yet all our balances have to be settled through English or European banking houses. In the great trade centres of South America the English, the German, the French, and the Italian have their banks, but I think that I am right in saying that there is not an American bank in all South America. Manifestly this is a serious hindrance to our trade.

The consular service of the United States ought to be of immense value in promoting foreign trade in American goods. It does render important service in this direction, but the whole system is subject to such evils and abuses that its efficiency is impaired and its value minimized. Until our consular service shall have been thoroughly overhauled, reorganized, and established upon a sound business basis it will never render to our foreign commerce the aid which it ought to give and which the commercial interests of other countries receive from their consular representatives.

Enough has been said of the operation of the treaties of reciprocity, which were negotiated under authority of the Tariff Act of 1890, to demonstrate the advantage of the principle involved. Our experience with these treaties was satisfactory as far as it went; but it came to an end too soon to show the full measure of advantages which had been gained by these international commercial agreements. Under a treaty of reciprocity our exports of flour to Brazil increased from an average of 705,000 barrels per annum to 892,000 barrels, but upon the abrogation of the treaty there was a drop to 775,000 barrels in 1895. A reduction in duty effected by a treaty of reciprocity with Germany increased our exports of flour to that country from 8,864 in 1891 to 200,719 barrels in 1893, and 286,229 barrels in 1894; but upon the termination of the treaty the exports fell to 256,650 barrels in 1895,

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and 190,644 barrels in 1896, a loss of nearly 100,000 in two years. From 114,000 barrels in 1891 reciprocity swelled our flour exports to Cuba to 662,000 barrels in 1894. Then the treaty was annulled; Spain retaliated by imposing a heavy duty on our flour, and our exports to Cuba declined to 379,856 barrels in 1895, and only 176,724 barrels in the year just ended.

Mr. C. G. Jones, President of the Southwestern Winter Wheat Millers' Association, asserted before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, that the abrogation of the treaty of commercial reciprocity had caused the merchant millers of the United States to lose the sale of 4,000,000 barrels of flour, worth $16,000,000. To produce this in one year would require 135 mills with a daily capacity of 100 barrels each.

The manufacturers of the United States want to have these treaties restored and new ones added.

To my mind the most directly beneficial agency in securing foreign trade for our manufacturers is the display of our goods in the principal foreign markets. The actual exhibition of a steam engine, of a line of shoe samples, of an assortment of hardware, or of a bicycle, is more effectual in impressing a possible purchaser than any amount of talk or printed matter—particularly if both of these be in a language unfamiliar to either buyer or seller. A sample warehouse, well stocked with saleable American goods, and in charge of men thoroughly familiar with both the goods and the market, ought to give a powerful stimulus to the sale of American wares in any important centre of trade.

Trade between the United States and the Latin-American countries is bound to develop steadily. Conditions were never so favorable to the extension of our commerce in that direction as at the present time. Whatever advantages we now possess for cultivating this trade are bound to increase rather than diminish; and to supply what we now lack in the way of information and facilities for transacting business is the problem that presses for immediate solution. The market offered by the countries to the South of us is of vast magnitude and importance, and its needs and the possibilities can not safely be overlooked by the business man, the economist or the statesman of the United States.

THEODORE C. SEARCH.

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CURFEW FOR CITY CHILDREN.

BY MRS. JOHN D. TOWNSEND.

FOR more than thirty years the welfare of children in this country has been to me food for anxious thought. The awful precocity of youth and the criminal irresponsibility of parents, both alarmingly more glaring year by year, have so constantly been before me, that, when the query is made, "Why do you endorse the Curfew?" mentally I reply, "How, with 'ears to hear and eyes to see,' can any one question this movement and its necessity"?

As there is no denying that prevention of crime is better than its punishment, it is certainly best to begin with care for children. Their free and untrammeled life in this country is appalling. We have a foreign population who apparently believe that unlimited license is the definition of freedom. Where there are thirty-one nationalities in one school, as in this city, and other schools where hundreds of children hear English only during their hours of attendance, where there are evening classes for men of all ages up to forty-five who have to be instructed in English in its most elementary forms, with such a large class unable to comprehend American conditions, is it wonderful that we are confronted with crime, in every form, among the youth of the country? It seems appropriate to repeat what General John C. Fremont said to me ten years since: "We should stop promiscuous immigration for thirty years, and allow for a generation of American children. Educated and intelligent immigrants, yes; but ignorant and impoverished, no!"

It is not only among the poor and uneducated that we find lack of parental responsibility. Educated people, with every advantage that money and position can give, are strangely neglectful in the home training of their children. They bring

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their children up conventionally, but how many young men or young women have any idea of the responsibilities of life presented to them? Every girl should be educated in the belief that she may be a wife and mother, which, morally considered, are the most important positions in life for her; every boy should be given to understand that manhood brings with it responsibilities, and that the more elevated the position the graver the responsibility is. Home life should be made a strong point by fathers and mothers, and boys should be as carefully guarded and controlled as girls.

With these convictions in mind, a newspaper announcement in January last of "The Boys' and Girls' National Home and Employment Association" attracted my attention and induced me to consider the question of the "Curfew." The announcement was to the effect that Col. Alexander Hogeland, of Lincoln, Neb., President of the association, had sent to the Governors of thirty-one States having winter legislatures, five bills regulating crimes among youth. The bills called for no appropriations and contained the following provisions:

(1.) The restoration to their homes of all truant and tramping youths found in any of the cities, towns, or villages of each State.

(2.) The opening of free county intelligence offices in the office of the county clerk in each county.

(3.) Protection of children in the homes of dissipated and immoral parents.

(4.) Imprisoning of youth, apart from old criminals.

(5.) Providing that boys and girls and minor children in all cities, towns, and villages should be at their homes after nightfall.

I noticed that New York was not one of the thirty-one States mentioned, and I wrote to Colonel Hogeland asking why he had so discriminated as to the States. It ended by his appointing me to represent the association in this State, and he forwarded documents to aid and instruct me in the undertaking.

For months since I have watched the papers for evidence of that which I wished to ameliorate, if not cure, and have found abundant reasons for the work. In February last I sounded the first note in this State, which brought forth some hearty sympathy, some derision, and unbounded incredulity as to the possibility of accomplishing anything in this city. I have not been

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discouraged, and I am daily adding to the evidence which demonstrates the necessity for decisive action. It has been a gruesome task, my search having been prolific in results. I have a collection from the daily journals of this year comprising records of "child crime" (sad juxtaposition of words) from the ages of six to twenty-one inclusive.

I am well aware that I am diverging from the exact subject of early hours for children, but no one can doubt that the crimes of older children have more or less connection with the street association of younger children in the night hours. Between six and fifteen years of age almost every known crime is committed in this city, and the period between sixteen and twenty-one seems to be the most fruitful of crime. A most potent reason for the prosecution of this work is the fact that the present youth may be the future legislators and government officials of this country.

I have been told by one of our public-school "attendance officers," whose work it is to gather in the truant school children, that the mothers of such children are largely in favor of the Curfew. One old man said: "Indeed he should be thankful for anything that would keep his children in at night." It has been suggested, through anonymous letters sent to me, that probably I have never had children of my own and consequently had no sympathy for others. Having brought up a family, my whole sympathy is for children and hence my active effort in this cause.

Whether parental neglect arises from poverty, recklessness, or natural indifference, it is unnecessary to inquire; probably each contributes. The effect upon the children, however, is to deprive them of the home influence which in early life is invaluable. The only remedy seems to be compulsory responsibility, as indicated by the Curfew Ordinance. And if it is necessary that such protection should be afforded to children in a city of one hundred and fifty thousand population, how much more is it desirable where the population is so much greater—so large a proportion of the children thereof having been surrounded by vice from birth.

Beyond the advantages to the youth and right-thinking parents, the aid thus afforded to the police in the suppression of crime must be considered, as also the additional comfort afforded

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to citizens who are compelled to be abroad at night, in being freed from the shocking sights and sounds which greet the eye and ear in many portions of our city.

In the beginning of February last the Curfew Ordinance was established in Lincoln, Neb., meeting with favor from all classes. The Mayor and City Council heartily endorsed it in a set of attested resolutions, and recommended its introduction in every city in the United States.

In June, 1896, I received a statement announcing that two hundred cities had adopted the Curfew, and that city officials, parents, school teachers, employers of youthful labor, and especially chiefs of police were emphatic in their praise of its efficacy. Some of the sentiments expressed are as follows.

The Chief of Police of Omaha reports: "It is now an easy matter to enforce home rules." Chief Broder, of St. Joseph says: "The adoption of the Curfew is an act of humanity to that class of fathers and mothers with boys and girls who defy home restraint, and it will prevent crime and save taxes." Employers of labor say they get better work because better hours are kept. School teachers testify they get better work for the same reason. Chief of Police Melick, of Lincoln, Neb., says that "after the Curfew was in force a few weeks, arrests for disorderly conduct and truancy fell off fully seventy-five per cent."; and he adds: "I cannot see why any city government in the country should hesitate to enact the ordinance." The Mayor of North Platte, Neb., says: "In the two years we have had the Curfew we have sent no children to the Reform School, whereas before that we sent quite a number." Colonel Hogeland says: "The size of a city need not be any excuse for not enacting the Curfew Ordinance"; and that "it can be enforced without additional expense." In our own public schools we now employ twenty truant, or, as they are called, "attendance officers," at a cost to the city of over $20,000, and it is hard and constant work.

New Jersey has now become interested in this work. In Melville, Cape May, Salem, Elmer, Mount Holly, and other towns the matter is being investigated. In Trenton the Rev. George C. Maddock, Secretary of the State Penal Commission and Chaplain of the New Jersey State's Prison, has inaugurated the movement. I have seen it stated that the question will be brought before the New Jersey Legislature this winter. The

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State Charities Aid Association of New Jersey have taken it into serious consideration.

According to the statistics afforded by the Association in 1892, in eleven cities 13,000 policemen arrested 450,000 men, women, and children, at an expense of $20,000,000. Among an equal number of farmers there were not 5,000 arrests.

Of the 13,000 boys and girls in reform schools in 1890, 98 per cent. went from cities, towns, and villages; that is, from one-third of the population, as two-thirds resided on farms.

Money is freely given and appropriated for the building and maintenance of States prisons, jails, poor-houses, work-houses, lunatic asylums, reformatories, truant farms, truant schools, and kindred institutions, people feeling righteous in the doing thereof. At the suggestion, however, of a measure whereby the necessity for these institutions may be lessened, we are met with apathy, or at least we have been until recently.

The Curfew Ordinance places responsibility where it belongs, on the parents.

This Association was incorporated at Washington in 1889. The members have held several conventions, and are now preparing to hold another in Cleveland next month.

Judging from the list of subjects sent to me, which are to come under discussion, it seems as if nothing connected with the welfare of children had been forgotten, yet they still ask for suggestions from others.

Much has already been accomplished by societies in New York inaugurated for the suppression of crime; and were it not for the strength which may be afforded by them, it would indeed be a hopeless task to anticipate success in this movement here. The Society for the Suppression of Obscene Literature has done great work. Its power should be extended to the prevention of the sale of that kind of literature among children which, although not absolutely obscene, is calculated to breed and foster crime among them.

As yet no definite action has been taken to bring this movement to the official notice of the authorities of this State or city. It has not been deemed wise to do so until a more thorough understanding of it has been had with the public. It is sincerely to be hoped that our newspapers will aid it, and that the societies already existing will give assistance in furtherance of the design.

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The great pioneer in the United States in the labor for prevention of crime—Edward Livingston—made the following remark as long ago as 1833 :

"To arrest the vicious before the profligacy assumes the shape of crime . . . will be found more effectual in the suppression of offences, and more economical, than the best organized system of punishment."

Charles Loring Brace, who was so well known years ago in this city as a devoted worker among the children of the poor, in the introduction to his book, *The Dangerous Classes of New York*, says : "The class of a large city most dangerous to its property, its morals, and its political life are the ignorant, destitute, untrained, and abandoned youth ; the outcast street-children grown up to be voters, to be the implements of demagogues, the 'feeders' of the criminals, and the sources of domestic outbreaks and violations of law."

MRS. JOHN D. TOWNSEND.

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WHAT SHALL BE DONE ABOUT CUBA?

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

WHEN Congress reassembles on the first Monday of this month one of the most urgent questions which it will be called on to consider will be why the President of the United States has failed to carry out the resolution passed by both Houses during their last session—the resolution to the effect that, in the judgment of Congress, the time had came to recognize the Cuban revolutionists as belligerents. It is possible that in his annual message Mr. Cleveland may be able to set forth reasons satisfactory to Congress for his failure to fulfil its wishes. Should, on the other hand, his reasons prove unsatisfactory, the whole Cuban question will be brought up anew, and Congress will have to determine what additional and more effective measures ought to be taken to secure the attainment of its purpose. Once more, then, the American people and their representatives at Washington will have to ask themselves, first: Is the present revolution in Cuba morally justified? and, secondly: Is it so far successful as to warrant our government in recognizing the independence, or, at all events, the belligerency of the Cubans? The first inquiry will compel us to review very briefly the character of Spanish rule in the island, in its threefold aspects of a fiscal, a commercial, and an administrative régime; the second inquiry will lead us to investigate the historical precedents for the intervention of the United States in Spanish-American affairs, and also to consider the special grounds for conforming to those precedents in the case of Cuba.

I.

Before exposing the three forms of official spoliation practised by Spaniards in Cuba, we should forestall the possible re-

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joinder that the native Cubans, being represented in the Parliament at Madrid, are themselves partially responsible for the existing abuses. The native Cubans are represented in the Cortes only in name. A considerable number of members are ostensibly allotted to the island, but these members are chosen under an electoral law deliberately framed to accomplish two objects; first, to reduce the number of voters, and, second, to give always a majority to the European Spaniards sojourning in the island, although the latter represent only 9.3 per centum of the total population of Cuba. To these ends the law made the right of voting dependent on the payment of a very high poll tax, which proved the more burdensome as the ten years' war had ruined the greater number of the Cuban proprietors. In these ways the electoral law succeeded in restricting the right of suffrage to only 53,000 inhabitants in an island which has a population of 1,600,000 ; that is to say, to the derisory proportion of 3 per cent. To show how the law works, we may cite the municipal district of Guines, the population of which is made up of 12,500 native Cubans, and only 500 Spaniards and Canary Islanders; nevertheless, on its electoral list one finds the name of 32 native Cubans and of 400 Spaniards. We can now understand why the number of native Cuban representatives in the Cortes, a body comprising 430 members, has never exceeded six, and has seldom exceeded three. The great majority of the so-called Cuban deputation has always consisted of Spanish Peninsulars; consequently, the ministers have always been able to command a pretended majority of Cuban votes, and thus to give a spurious appearance of acceptability to their legislative acts. Farcical, therefore, is Cuba's participation in the work of the national legislation. We add that, through the contrivance of the law, or through irregularities committed in its application, the Cubans have been deprived also of their due representation in the local corporations. Thus, in 1891, the Spaniards predominated in 31 out of 37 *ayuntamientos*, or town councils, in the province of Havana. In Guines, where, as we have said, there are 12,500 Cubans in its 13,000 inhabitants, not a single Cuban was to be found among its town councillors. At the same epoch there were only three Cuban deputies in the Provincial Deputation of Havana ; two in that of Matanzas, and three in that of Santa Clara. Finally, out of twenty governors of the province of Matanzas, only two have

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been Cubans; one of these was a professional bureaucrat, and the other was an army officer who had fought against his country. During the same period there has been only one native Cuban permitted to act as governor in the province of Havana, and he had spent almost the whole of his life in Spain. In the other provinces there has never been a governor who was born in the island.

Now let us see what use Spain has made of the legislative and administrative powers which she has monopolized to the practically total exclusion of the Cubans. Let us begin with the fiscal régime. The insurrection of 1868-78 brought about the abolition of slavery, and this, of course, involved a great economical dislocation. Prudence and good feeling would have dictated the policy of lightening the fiscal burdens of the island under such trying circumstances; on the contrary, the mother country overwhelmed the colony with enormous budgets, reaching in 1879 and 1880 as high a figure as $46,000,000. By 1893 the budgets had been cut down to $26,000,000, but the reduction was due, not to consideration for the taxpayers, but to necessity. The island had proved unable to meet the enormous exactions attempted. In 1880 the deficit had reached the alarming sum of $20,000,000; in 1883 it was nearly $10,000,000; the accumulated amount of all the deficits since 1878 is $100,000,000—so vast has been the difference between the appropriations and the revenues. With such management, Cuba's debt has increased at a rate which, compared with the island's resources, seems fabulous. In 1868 the debt was $25,000,000. When the present war broke out, on February 24, 1895, it amounted to $190,000,000. On July 31, 1895, it was computed to have reached $295,000,000. Now, of course, it is far greater. The interest on this debt at the date last named, imposed a burden of $9.79 on each inhabitant. What this means will be evident, when we call to mind that the French people, the most overburdened with taxes on the earth, owe only $6.36 per inhabitant. Not a cent of the enormous sum thus borrowed has been spent in Cuba, to advance the work of improvement and civilization. For what, then, has the debt been incurred? It includes a debt of Spain to the United States; it includes the expense of Spain's occupation of San Domingo in 1861; the cost of Spain's invasion of Mexico; the cost of her hostile expedition against

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Peru; money advanced to the Spanish Treasury during the recent Carlist wars; and finally, all that Spain has spent to uphold its domination in Cuba, and to cover the lavish expenditures since 1868.

Let us turn to the commercial and industrial regime, and inquire what Spain has done to promote or permit the development of wealth, and thus enable the Cubans to bear the *monstrous burden of taxation. In view of the fact that Cuba* produces almost exclusively for export, and imports almost everything she consumes, it is plain that all she asks of the mother country is that her output shall not be hampered with onerous regulations, nor her commercial relations obstructed; it being for the obvious interest of the island to buy cheap where it suits her, and to sell her products at a profit. Spain has done the very opposite of what she should have done. She has treated tobacco as an enemy; she has loaded sugar with incessant imposts; she has shackled with abusive excise duties the cattle-raising industry; she has thrown almost insuperable obstacles in the way of the mining industry. Nor is this all; she has stranded the colony in the network of a tariff which subjects Cuba to a ruinous monopoly on the part of the producers and merchants of certain regions of Spain. The duties which many foreign articles have to bear, when imported into Cuba, exceed by 2,000—and even 2,300—per cent. those borne by the corresponding Spanish products. For example, a hundred kilograms of knitted goods pay, if from Spain, $10.95; if from a foreign country, $195. A thousand kilograms of bags for sugar, when they are Spanish, pay $4.69; if they come from any other country they pay $82.50. A hundred kilograms of cassimere, if it is a Spanish product, pay $15.47; if foreign, $300.

If, now, we pass to the bureaucratic form of spoliation, we observe that in the budget of 1894-95, a budget amounting to $26,411,000, only $756,925 were allotted to interior improvements; all the rest went to pay the interest on the debt or the cost of the civil and military administration. Shameless and almost incredible is the extortion practised on a thinly-peopled and impoverished island in the matter of official salaries. To the Governor-General of Cuba is given a salary of $50,000, besides a palace in Havana and a country house, servants, coaches, and a fund for secret expenses. The Director-General of the Treasury receives

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a salary of $18,500. The Archbishop of Santiago and the Bishop of Havana get $18,000 each. The Commander-General of the naval station has $16,392 a year. The General "Segundo Cabo," or second in command upon the island, and the President of the Audiencia receive $15,000 each. The Governor of Havana, and the Secretary of the general government, $8,000. The Major-Generals get $7,500; Brigadier-Generals $4,500, or, when in command, $5,000; the Captains of the largest men-of-war receive $6,300; the captains of frigates, $4,560. Even government clerks of the first class obtain $5,000 each, and those of the second class $4,000. All these functionaries are entitled to free lodgings and to domestic servants paid by the state. Below the officials mentioned is a multitude of minor employees, all munificently provided for. It is, in a word, far more lucrative to be employed by the Spanish colonial government in Cuba than to be an office-holder under the federal government at Washington. Lastly, it is in the office of the Minister of "Ultramar," or of the colonies—who resides in Madrid, and to whom $96,800 a year is assigned from the treasury of Cuba—that we find centering the saturnalia in which Spanish bureaucrats indulge at the expense of the plundered island. Sometimes through incapacity, but more often through outright dishonesty, the money wrung from the Cuban taxpayers is squandered at Madrid. Minister Romero Robledo took at one time (in 1892) a million dollars belonging to the Cuban treasury from the vaults of the Bank of Spain, and lent it to the Trans-Atlantic Company, of which he was a stockholder. Threatened with prosecution, he replied that, if prosecuted, all his predecessors from every political party would have to sit beside him in the dock. In June, 1890, a debate in the Cortes brought out the outrageous fact that $6,500,000 had been abstracted from the *Caja de Depositos*, although the safe was locked with three keys, each of which was in the possession of a different functionary. Then was it also made known that through false vouchers for transportation, and fictitious bills for provisions, alleged to have been furnished during the ten years' war in Cuba, the Cuban treasury had been robbed of $22,811,000. In March of the same year General Pando asserted that the thefts perpetrated through the issue of warrants by the Board of the Public Debt exceeded the sum of $12,000,000. Not one of the persons implicated in these disgraceful transactions has been punished. We recall,

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finally, that in August, 1887, General Marin entered the Havana Custom House at the head of a military force, investigated the scandalous operations there carried on, and discharged every employee. The act caused a great deal of noise, but not one of the officials was indicted, or suffered any further punishment. How could any of them be punished? Every official, who comes to Cuba, has an influential patron at the Court of Madrid, for whose protection he pays with regularity.

Is, at least, the administration of justice pure? Are the lives and properties of Cubans safe, even in time of peace? The truth is that personal safety has long been a myth in Cuba. The civil-guard, or armed police, are the terror of the rural districts, and, while they are beating and murdering defenceless countrymen, notorious highwaymen are allowed to ply their trade unscathed. It has been asserted that no executions for political offenses have taken place since 1878, but this was because the government resorted to the simpler expedient of assassination. Frequent have been the mysterious deaths of Cubans, who had capitulated. To one of these deaths was due the uprising of Tunas de Bayamo in 1879; the assassination of Brigadier-General Vidal has been proved to have been committed in compliance with an order from the Spanish General Polavieja. The same Spanish General has acknowledged that in December of 1880 a large number of persons were arrested by his order in Cuba, and transported the same day and hour to the African Island of Fernando Po. After the last short insurrection of 1879-80 it was a frequent occurrence for Cubans, who had capitulated under a solemn promise of amnesty, to be sent to the penal colonies of Africa. Are the honor and property of Cubans any safer than are their lives? The very idea of a lawsuit frightens every honest Cuban. Nobody believes in the integrity or the independence of the judges; they are considered, and consider themselves, mere political tools. Not only the Attorneys-general, but the presiding judges, receive their instructions at the Governor-general's office. In spite of the provisions of the Constitution, imprisonments without warrant, and for an indefinite time, are common. Twice have the Governors of Cuba violated the Constitution by establishing a special tribunal to deal with offences of the press. In the rare instances when a straightforward and impartial judge has undertaken to deal justly with a case, in which the interests of influential people were involved,

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he has been replaced by a more tractable member of the bench.

In view of the facts above enumerated, it will scarcely be pretended that the insurrection of the Cubans is not justified. They have ten times as much cause to rebel as their fellow-subjects on the American mainland had in the first quarter of this century. They have a hundred times more provocation than had the thirteen English colonies in 1775. But let us not refuse to listen to the apologists for Spain. They tell us, first, that the insurrection was unwarranted, because at the very hour when it broke out, Spain was about to give to Cuba the reforms which the islanders desired. They allege, secondly, that however bad may be the present condition of Cuba, the success of the revolutionists would make it immeasurably worse. That success, they say, would be followed by a race war of extermination between the whites and the blacks, and the ultimate fate of Cuba would be the fate of Hayti. Let us examine these assertions, and let us begin with the last, because it can be disposed of in a sentence. When the negro uprising took place in Hayti, there were in the French-speaking portion of the island of Hispañiola, 16 blacks to one white; there are at present in the island of Cuba two whites for every colored person. So much for the danger of a race war, and the annihilation of the whites. Now for the allegation that Spain had enacted, and was about to carry out in Cuba, the coveted reforms in administration, when the present rebellion began. The reference, of course, is to the scheme originally formulated by Minister Maura, but subsequently modified by Minister Abarzuas and now known by his name. What does the Abarzuas project amount to? It in no wise changes the electoral law, which, as we have said, defranchises the vast majority of Cubans. It in no wise curtails the power of the bureaucracy. It would leave on the Cuban taxpayer the identical burdens now weighing upon him, and it would give him no right to participate in the formation of the general budgets for the island. The Abarzuas law would do absolutely nothing but change the present Council of Administration, all the members of which are now appointed by the government, into a partially elective body. Under this professed reform, one-half of the members of the Council are still to be appointed by the government, but the other half are to be chosen by qualified electors, that is to say, by persons who pay a certain amount of

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taxes. The Governor-General, however, is to have the right to veto all the resolutions of the Council, and to suspend at will all of the elective members. What is the Council, thus made up, and thus tied, hand and foot, empowered to do? It is authorized to form a kind of special budget embracing the small items now included in the general budget of Cuba under the head of *Fomento* or interior improvements. To these items, as we have said, was allotted in the budget of 1894–95 exactly $746,925 out of $26,411,000. All the rest of the general budget of Cuba the state reserves for itself. In other words, the Council is to dispose of less than three per cent. of the revenues of Cuba, while the officials appointed in Madrid distribute, as at present, 97 per cent. The general budget would, as heretofore, be made up in Spain; there, too, the tariff laws would be enacted. Under the Abarzuas project, in fine, the Cubans would continue to be treated as a subjugated people; all the power would remain in the hands of the Spanish government and its delegates in Cuba, and all the influence attainable would be exercised by the Spanish residents. No wonder the Cubans repudiated the scheme. They would have been wanting in the instincts of self-preservation had they accepted from the mother country such a grotesque counterfeit of home rule.

II.

The Cuban revolution, then, was justified, if ever a revolution was. Has it attained such a measure of success that the revolutionists deserve, at least, to be recognized as belligerents, and would such a recognition be in accordance with the traditional policy of the United States? There is no doubt that, although less than two years have elapsed since the rising in February, 1895, the Cuban insurgents have overrun, and have continued to hold, a much larger tract of country than did their predecessors in the ten years' war. During the greater part of that conflict, the rebellion was confined to the eastern provinces, and, although at times the insurgent forces entered the central portion of the island, the province of Pinar del Rio, lying west of Havana, was not once penetrated. At present, the Spaniards control no considerable section of the island outside of the seaports and a few strongly fortified towns in the interior. The open country, together with the villages and smaller towns, is almost wholly in

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the power of the revolutionists. Two of the Cuban commanders, General Gomez and General Garcia, move at will through the eastern and central departments; for some time not even an attempt has been made to cope with them. General Antonio Maceo is strongly entrenched among the mountains of the western province, and it remains to be seen whether Governor-General Weyler can manage to dislodge him. It is well-known that the revolutionists have organized a *de facto* government. They have adopted a constitution; they have assumed a national name; they possess a national flag, and they have despatched a delegate plenipotentiary to treat with the government of the United States. It is true that they possess no navy and no seaport, but in this respect they are not much worse off than were the thirteen American colonies when their independence was recognized by France. They are quite as well off as were their Spanish-American kinsmen when the independence of the Peruvian and Colombian Republics was recognized by the United States, for at that time the mother country retained control of all the principal seaports on the Spanish Main and on the seacoast of Peru. They are better off than were the Greeks when England, France, and Russia interposed to assure their deliverance from the Ottoman yoke. From another point of view the claim of the Cubans to be recognized as belligerents is even more irresistible. How can we refuse to say that a state of war exists in Cuba when Spain herself avows the fact by assembling under her colors on the island upward of 200,000 soldiers? How can any one describe as a local and transient disturbance an upheaval, which for nearly two years Spain has striven in vain to suppress, although she has taxed to the utmost her resources in men and money? Spain is forced at this moment to maintain in Cuba an army twice as large as the Ottoman Sultan and his vassal Mehemet Ali could muster in 1828 for the subjugation of Greece, and four times as large as the Anglo-German force which Great Britain was able to launch against her revolted American colonies during our revolutionary war. If it is not war which exists in Cuba, why in the name of common sense has Spain sent thither nearly the whole of her available navy, and a land force that will presently number almost a quarter of a million of troops? Indubitably war it is, and, as we have shown it to be a righteous one, the Cubans are en-

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titled to a recognition of its existence at the hands of foreign powers, and especially of the American republics. It is idle to say that the Cubans, if they were wise, would not insist on being recognized as belligerents. True enough it is that such a recognition on the part of the United States might subject *us* to some inconvenience. The parent government would be thereby relieved from responsibility for acts done in the insurgent territory; its blockade of Cuban ports would have to be respected; and Spain would acquire a right to exercise against neutral commerce all the powers of a party to a maritime war. Of trivial moment to us, however, would be the inconveniences resulting from the right of search, compared to the damage wrought by a prolongation of the struggle, the destruction of lives and property, the annihilation of agricultural and mining industries, and the impoverishment of the island's commerce with this country. Already our interchange of products with Cuba has been cut down to a fraction of what it was at the beginning of the war, and investments of American capital are seriously threatened. Moreover, the question of recognizing the Cubans as belligerents is not one to be looked at merely from a sordid point of view. High principles of morality are involved in the matter, and grave international duties are imposed upon our government. As Mr. Richard H. Dana has pointed out in his edition of Wheaton, a government under such circumstances "owes it to its own citizens, to the contending parties, and to the peace of the world, to make a decision seasonably." We have no moral right to remain impassive spectators of a gallant struggle for liberty; no right to leave the insurgents deprived of a recognized *status* in the forum of international law, and of the opportunity to employ commissioned cruisers at sea, and to exert all the powers known to maritime warfare with the sanction of foreign nations.

Not only is it our manifest duty on abstract grounds to recognize the Cubans as belligerents, but such a recognition would be in strict conformity with the traditional policy of our government. With regard to the nascent Spanish-American republics, the administration of James Monroe acted upon a principle propounded by himself as follows: "As soon as the movement assumes such a steady and consistent form as to make the success of the province probable, the rights, to which they were entitled

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by the law of nations as equal parties in a civil war, have been extended to them." Again, in a despatch dated September 20, 1836, and addressed by Mr. Forsyth, Secretary of State, to the Mexican plenipotentiary in Washington, the habitual attitude of our government toward Spanish-American revolutionists is thus defined: "It is a well-known fact that the vessels of the South American provinces were admitted into the ports of the United States under their own or any other flags from the commencement of the revolution; and it is equally true that throughout the various civil contests that have taken place at different periods among the States which sprang from that revolution, the vessels of each of the contending parties have been alike permitted to enter the ports of this country. It has never been held necessary, as a preliminary to the extension of the rights of hospitality to either, that the chances of the war should be balanced, and the probability of eventual success entertained. For this purpose it has been deemed sufficient that the party had declared its independence, and was at the time actually maintaining it." A remarkable application of the principle here set forth was made in the case of Texas. The Texans declared their independence from Mexico on March 2, 1836. This was signed by but sixty men, of whom only two were of Mexican nationality. Nevertheless, just six months afterwards the United States recognized the belligerent rights of the Texans by proclaiming the neutrality of the United States in the contest between them and Mexico.

Why should the recognition of belligerency, which was so promptly conceded to the Texans, be deferred so long in the case of Cuba? Such a recognition was, we need not say, conceded to the Texans when the neutrality of the United States was proclaimed. It is, or ought to be, well understood that the United States are not acting the part of neutrals in the present contest between Cubans and Spaniards. The frequent use in newspapers of the term "infraction of the neutrality laws," as applied to filibustering expeditions, is misleading. The United States cannot be neutral, because they have not acknowledged the existence of a state of war in Cuba. If they had, the rights of belligerency would have followed as a matter of course.

What are the special reasons why we should be peculiarly eager to do for the Cubans what we promptly did for other

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Spanish-American revolutionists? We are far more closely bound to Cuba by trade ties than to any other part of Latin America. The value of all the commodities exported from Cuba in 1890 was $70,608,000, of which $58,570,000, or nearly 83 per cent., were sent to the United States. The value of the products forwarded that year to the Spanish peninsula was only $8,121,000, or 11.5 per cent. So far, then, as commercial interests are concerned, Cuba is already far more intimately connected with the United States that she is with her mother country. As regards the other motives which impel us to feel a particular concern for the welfare of the Cubans, these have never been more concisely and impressively summed up than they were in the instructions to our Minister at Madrid issued in 1823 by John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State. After referring to Cuba and Porto Rico, the only American possessions of which Spain still retained undisputed possession, Mr. Adams continued: "Those islands from their local position are natural appendages to the North American Continent, and one of them (Cuba), which is almost in sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations, has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas; the character of its population; its situation midway between our southern coasts and the island of San Domingo; its safe and capacious harbor of the Havana, fronting a long line of our shores, destitute of the same advantage; the nature of its productions and of its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial; all these things give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared, and little inferior to that which binds the different members of this Union together. Such, indeed, are between the interests of that island and of this country, the geographical, commercial, moral, and political relations, gathering in the process of time, and even now verging to maturity, that, in looking forward to the probable course of events for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our Republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself."

M. W. HAZELTINE.

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REFORM OF THE CURRENCY.

BY J. C. ADAMS, PRESIDENT OF THE INDIANAPOLIS BOARD OF TRADE; A. K. MILLER, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ORLEANS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; AND HUGH CRAIG, PRESIDENT OF THE SAN FRANCISCO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

I.

THE verdict of the conservative, reflective, and patriotic people of this country, as expressed in the recent election, was positive in its judgment of distrust of Mr. Bryan, disapproval of the wild vagaries and financial heresies advocated by him, as it was overwhelming in its condemnation of the destructive policies set forth in the Chicago platform.

Aside from the question of upholding constitutional government which involved the supremacy of the laws supporting the properly constituted authorities in suppressing disorder and maintaining peace and social order, and a sentiment of deference and respect toward one of the great co-ordinate branches of our government, the judiciary, this avalanche of majorities from Maine to California must be taken as a pronounced and emphatic expression of disapproval toward the party or platform whose policy or purpose would lead to a debasement of our currency. By the ballot the American people have spoken boldly and without evasion in favor of a sound and unfluctuating currency and an honest and staple system of finance.

The cause of the great party that was successful on November 3d in this campaign of common sense and education was upheld before the people in the contention that we now had the best and soundest currency in the world; that our system of finance had stood the test of time and varying conditions, and should be kept intact and maintained at all hazards. Thousands of our ablest

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speakers, and tons of literature spread broadcast by the National Committee, supported this view and advanced the belief, backed by sound logic and argument that could not be controverted, that the threat and avowed purpose of the Popocrats to change or alter our financial system and tinker with the currency was the cause of the business depression, unrest, and panicky feeling that prevailed in this country since the Chicago Convention adjourned.

And now, before the echoes of this cyclone of public indignation against those whose success meant industrial paralysis, personal bankruptcy, and national dishonor have passed away, we are confronted with a proposition to further revise our financial system by national legislation. We must recognize the necessity of ultimately retiring our greenback currency by issuing a long-time low interest-bearing bond which could be sold to our own people and used as a circulating medium in place of the three hundred and sixty million government notes or greenbacks now in circulation, which act as a standing menace to our gold reserve. For the reason that the Senate of the United States is so organized that the small silver States hold the balance of power and have the same votes as New York or Pennsylvania, it would certainly reject any measure that did not provide for free coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1. But a sentiment of admiration amounting almost to love for the greenback currency exists among our people. It was the greenback that helped to save the nation's life. It has been used as money for a generation. It is more convenient and acceptable to handle or carry than silver or gold, and a proposition to retire it and issue in its stead an interest-bearing note to be used as currency, no matter how low that interest may be, will not meet with favor from a large number of our people. Especially will this be true when it is known that many eminent statesmen, such as Senator Sherman and others, are pronounced and outspoken in opposition to any measure that would take the greenback from circulation. However strong and effective our safeguards may be, a President like Mr. Bryan, with a Congress in accord with his views, would soon find a way to override and disregard legislative restrictions. The practical and feasible course to pursue at this time would be for the commercial bodies and Boards of Trade of the country to take steps looking to the creation of a commission, composed

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of practical, conservative business men empowered to formulate and recommend to the American Congress a system of currency and finance, removed as far as possible from the domain of party politics, that would determine and settle this vexed question, so that in the future it would not appear in every campaign to cause unrest and apprehension to the great business and industrial interests of the land.

J. C. ADAMS.

II.

THE hard times from which the country has suffered during the past three and a half years have been due not to any especial infirmity in the currency, but simply to a depletion (which has resulted from a low tariff) of national revenue and industrial earnings. The provision of 1890 for the purchase of silver bullion, to the extent of four and a half million ounces per month, did communicate a disease to the currency; yet so assured were both our revenue and industries that when, in order to compass a repeal of that provision, President Cleveland called an extraordinary session of Congress five months after his return to executive duty, he gave frank testimony to the wonderful prosperity which had prevailed despite that improvident enactment. His message recited that "with plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, sudden financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side." The threat of a low tariff and the election of a Congress to discharge that threat, seemed fully to explain the "sudden distrust." Capital began to shrink into covert and the industries winced, just as one's nerves feel, before its descent, a knife aimed to strike. The repeal of the silver-purchasing clause in no wise appeased the distrust; the promise of remunerative production, the invitation to investment and the satisfactory assurance to business enterprise still became less and less, down to the ultimate enactment of the present tariff. What followed, in the absolute prostration of scores of industries, now fast regaining their feet, in our lack of adequate revenue for the needs of the government, in our constraint to sell bonds, in our increase of debt, and in our market-disquiets, need not be rehearsed. The fault has not been in our currency, but in the denial of a fair opportunity for its service in

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reasonably confident enterprise; in the arrest by distrust of its proper distribution through all the employments.

To throw away millions of duties to the foreigner as donations, and then tease them back as loans, is not business-like; nor is inviting foreign competition in our markets so that wages may steal away in the price of imported commodities to other bread-winners than our own. The late Vice-Presidential candidate, Mr. Sewall, said concerning the industry of shipbuilding at a mass meeting at Bath, Me., two years ago: "If we can go to the Clyde, and buy ships ten or twenty per cent. cheaper than we can build them here, not another ship will be built in that yard." The people having just declared for an honest dollar; having pledged forty-nine cents' worth of faith to reinforce fifty-one cents' worth of silver, while the issue of that metal is limited to the measure of our gold-power to steady it; having discovered that adulterating currency is not making more purchase power, but impairing it, there seems to be no need of any further present experiment at "reform of the currency."

The earning power of the wage-earner's arm must have health behind it; to currency the needed health is such conditions of credit as shall encourage its active outreach.

Unquestionably the main issue in the late election was protection. This fact is witnessed in the prompt summons addressed from the polls in 1894 to the present House of Representatives; in the peremptory reassertion of the same protection purpose in 1895; in the evasion of the tariff question at Chicago last July by the projecting of another issue in flat contradiction of all Democratic history down to 1892; in the steadfast insistence of the President-elect upon the protection issue and the prominence of that issue in the platform whereon he stood; in the widespread resentments of capital and labor because of the grave privation they had sustained, and in their recognition that unlimited silver meant, among other mischiefs, forty-nine per cent. less of the present low duties paid by the foreigner.

Mr. McKinley was numerously supported by other than his own partisans, because the Chicago Convention saw, in view of the Democratic tariff reverses of 1894 and 1895, a popular determination, which many Populists shared, for a better tariff, and it erroneously presumed that a misinterpretation of Democratic doctrine in respect of the currency would work no defection in

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Democratic ranks, while it would attract Populist recruits. The result was to array against Mr. Bryan not only the protectionists, but also that part of the Democracy which would not surrender a conviction in respect of gold as a measure of value. This element preferred the Democracy of Jefferson, Jackson, Benton, and Tilden to that of Bryan, which was a capitulation to men who were Populists—truants in most States from the Democratic party. To this minority of McKinley's supporters the currency was the main issue; to the majority industrial protection was, doubtless, the main issue, with a keener tingle given to it by the currency issue, while the Chicago menace to our judiciary quickened general apprehension.

In other words, the result of the recent struggle, as a whole, means, so far as relates to currency, rescuing it from vitiation, unlocking it from its hiding places, and putting it to work in an atmosphere of good faith. This involves ample revenue to the government for its needs, shrinkage of our national debt, and an impetuous circulation of our currency in industrial rewards.

While, in view of the constraints and cautions imposed upon national banks, the 10 per cent. restriction upon their issues might, perhaps, be removed, we need no more per capita than we have now—$24.65—which is more than we ever had before; what we do need is its active employment. Some contend that we should retire our United States notes and thus arrest their suction power upon the Treasury, but from 1879, when we began resumption, down to the hour when deficiency in revenue was threatened, less than three millions of these notes had been annually presented for redemption, while during the past three and a half years over one hundred millions of the notes have been so presented each year. The fault has not been in the persistent reissues of notes, but in the lack of revenue which made such reissues necessary. A man who claps a mustard plaster on his stomach after having overeaten has no reason to blame the hot plaster for his own folly. We had better make such provision by law that, for some time to come, at least, the burden of providing gold for note redemption will not be thrown upon banks, but that we may secure proper income from such people as want our market, through duties on imports that compete with ours, and reopen reciprocity treaties in respect of dissimilar products, in order to draw in stores of for-

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eign gold for our meat, farm, and factory products, distributed abroad. We can thus best reinforce our currency system, and what is reciprocity but elastic protection? During the same December week in which the Wilson Congress met, the London Chamber of Commerce rallied all the trade bodies of England to complain to the British government that, in that year, British merchants had by reason of our reciprocity treaties sustained losses to the extent of thirty millions of dollars. A return to reciprocity, be it said, would involve no peril to the sugar industry of this State. The chemical analysis of the soil of numerous States even as high up as Oregon, the extent of sugar beet production in them before the Fifty-third Congress discouraged it, and the evidence that they are superior to Germany for that staple, seem to denote that an application of the measure of duty on foreign sugar as bounty on domestic sugar would profitably diversify Western agriculture, multiply Louisianas, and so expand a great industry as soon to obviate our need of a pound of the imported staple. Where criticism might be most expected the bounty could be shared by farmers, competition with whose wheat exports now demands more and more new service from their acreage, and so far as Louisiana is concerned she would no longer be subject to the caprice of this or that Congress, but have stout and steadfast allies there with a kindred interest from divers States. She is but one forty-fifth of the statehood of this Union, and cannot afford to antagonize anew forty-four other forty-fifths, when the Dingley emergency-bill, which has already passed the House, in assurance of forty millions of dollars of additional revenue, shall be called up in the Senate. Free entry for foreign sugar, the application of a bounty to stimulate the home-production of sugar over a large area of our country, and the output of our twenty-two hundred products from furrow to factory, all under reciprocal treaties, will best befriend all our industries, that of sugar included. To "reform the currency," in fine, we have only to reform our wasteful methods in respect of revenue and industrial incomes.

A. K. MILLER.

III.

AFTER the experience of the last four months, the business interests of the country demand that a recurrence of such financial insanity and business congestion as we have recently passed

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through should be made impossible. The politicians, who have for the last thirty-five years been at the bottom of all our misery financially, should be warned off by the business interests of the country and made to understand that the time has arrived when party interests must be relegated to the rear and reform be brought about of so drastic a character as to bring federal finance into line with the most approved principles of currency circulation.

If Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce could bring such pressure upon Congress as would lead to the appointment of a commission to report upon the defects of our own system, and point out the advantages of other systems—those, for instance, of France and Scotland—there might be prepared early in the session of the new Congress a bill which would commend itself to every patriotic citizen who has the love of his country at heart.

I take it the objects of such legislation, when obtainable, would be to first prove that "the piebald currency" of the United States government is entirely unconstitutional, and we should return as rapidly as possible to the fundamental principles upon which the fathers of the country established our rights.

The constitution partly defines the duties of the federal government, to be: "to coin money; regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin." Further on it defines what States *cannot* do, namely: "coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts."

The makers of those sections had a lively knowledge of the "continentals" unredeemed to the extent of $200,000,000.

Hence silver was degraded, its functions usurped by fiat paper, and currency troubles began in 1862 with the issue of greenbacks and their use as legal tender, which were intensified later by national bank notes, Bland certificates, and Sherman notes.

How shall these be eliminated from the circulation without a contraction of the currency, and our own available silver made to do its legitimate duty, as it does in France, namely, answer all purposes for till-money, pocket-money of the people, and the domestic exchange of the country, gold being used only for the foreign exchanges? I would suggest that the first thing neces-

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sary would be to require the commercial men of the country and our bankers to agree upon a report which when embodied in legislative enactment would drive out of circulation $346,000,000 of greenbacks; $336,000,000 of Bland certificates; $160,000,000 of Sherman notes; and some $225,000,000 of National Bank notes, turning into circulation $600,000,000 of silver and $120,000,000 of so-called gold reserve now lying in the United States Treasury and its branches performing no good service.

Thus the banking business of the country would be left to those to whom it legitimately belongs—the people themselves—and the duties of the Secretary of the Treasury would be confined to the collection of revenue and its disbursement according to law. Legislation would also be required to cover a scheme looking to the federation of the 14,000 banks in the country, after the example of the Bank of France, by which the bulk of their cash capital might be concentrated in the vaults of a central bank of issue and re-discount, and its branches, for reserve, against which should be issued legitimate bank paper, in denominations of not less than ten dollars. The working of such a bank, guarded by Federal officials, has been ably set forth in detail by the editor of our *Bankers' Magazine*. The action of such a plan would be of so automatic a character that the bank note would be always based upon gold and silver coin and live assets.

The successful operation of such a method is not a thing of speculation in New York, for in the panic of 1893 the bankers of that city had recourse to the same principle, when they, in return for deposits of gilt-edged securities to the New York Clearing House, issued what are known as Clearing House certificates. Within the last few months the banks of New Orleans were reported to have prepared a scheme for the issuance of Clearing House certificates based upon this same proposition. If this was found practicable in New York and effected the salvation of the credit of that city at the time, why should it not be made available for the entire country? It would furnish a legitimate bank note, exchangeable at par in every State, guaranteed by coin deposits of the bank issuing the note, and it would open a way by which silver could be utilized to the same extent in the United States as it is in France, say, twenty dollars per capita.

We sent to the Brussels Monetary Conference representatives

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who were permitted to air the many silver fads which lately culminated in a free silver plank, and wrecked a great national party. M. Tirard, one of the French representatives, replied to these and other so called bimetallists by tersely telling them that when they returned home they should have their peoples use silver to the extent of five dollars per capita, which would solve the monetary problem and raise silver to par.

Think of the effect of such a reform of our present financial disabilities. With a population of seventy-five millions using twenty dollars per capita, forcing into circulation $1,500,000,000 of silver, the effect would be such an appreciation in the price of that metal as would bring it shortly to par, for it would take probably ten years to mine and mint our demand.

The gold reserve of the country would be limited to the settlement of foreign accounts, and all the weight of credit which now lies upon gold only would be distributed over $1,500,000,000 of of silver and $1,000,000,000 of legitimate bank notes.

The coin capital of the country would be at once trebled by the issuance of bank paper based on gold, silver, and gilt-edged securities, leaving a safe reserve in the Central Bank and its branches of thirty-three and one-third per cent. gold coin.

I have been amused greatly at the way in which Eastern people talk of "solid" money, considering how little they make use of it, preferring, apparently, fiat paper.

A neighbor of mine tells me of a Californian not very long ago entering a shoe-store in New York and purchasing a pair of slippers. The price was seventy-five cents. He handed the clerk a twenty-dollar gold piece, and noticed the typewriter, the accountant, the salesman, and the "boss" with their heads together. After consultation the clerk approached the Western man, handed him the twenty-dollar gold piece, and took back the slippers! They were positively afraid to give the change, fearing that the coin was "bogus."

The same thing happened six months ago in a hat store in Philadelphia, where one of my neighbors tendered a twenty-dollar gold piece in payment of a two-and-a-half-dollar hat. The clerk returned from the cashier's desk and said that "they did not have the change until the proprietor returned from his lunch."

In November last, the writer was a delegate from the Chamber of Commerce of this city to a convention of Ship Owners and

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the National Grange, at Worcester, Mass. My hotel bill was sixteen dollars; I laid on the counter a twenty-dollar gold piece, which the clerk first tried with his teeth, then rang on a glass-plate, and said: "You are from California, sir, are you not?" To which I replied in the affirmative.

"This is gold?"

"Certainly," I said.

By this time there had gathered around me not less than half a dozen men, who, by their looks of interest, had never before, apparently, seen a twenty-dollar gold piece. The change handed to me was soiled, dirty paper, instead of clean, white silver.

In conclusion, I cannot do better than quote Chief Justice Field's dissent—may that seer live to see this abominable legal-tender heresy struck from the statute books:

"In the case of Augustus D. Juillard, plaintiff in error, vs. Thomas S. Greenman: Supreme Court of the United States, March 3, 1884:

"From the decision of the court I see only evil likely to follow. There have been times within the memory of all of us when the legal-tender notes of the United States were not exchangeable for more than one-half of their nominal value. The possibility of such depreciation will always attend paper money. This inborn infirmity no mere legislation can cure. If Congress has the power to make notes a legal-tender and to pass as money or its equivalent, why should not a sufficient amount be issued to pay the bonds of the United States as they mature? Why pay interest on the millions of dollars of bonds now due when Congress can, in one day, make the money to pay the principal? And why should there be any restraint upon unlimited appropriations by the government for all imaginary schemes of public improvement if the printing press can furnish the money that is needed for them?"

HUGH CRAIG.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE REPEOPLING OF IRELAND.

WHILE the familiar struggle of the Irish against the English continues to be in evidence wherever there are Irishmen, things have arrived at the pathetic stage in Ireland. To the stranger entering Dublin or Belfast it looks as if the island that had given letters to England had been repeopled by Britons. In every business thoroughfare the names that meet the eye are suggestive of England, Scotland, and Wales. The admixture of French, German, Italian, and Spanish names, so common in England, is reproduced apparently in the same proportions.

When one takes up the leading daily newspapers enough is found to corroborate the opinion that the repeopling is an accomplished fact. In a recent issue of a Dublin journal, *The Irish Times*, there appeared in the advertisements 325 names—English, Welsh, Scotch, French, German, Italian, and Spanish—to 55 Irish names.

The owner of the leading Irish newspaper was born in Scotland, Sir John Arnott, Baronet, and the name of the founder, Knox, is associated with a stirring period of Scottish religious history in the sixteenth century.

In the leading directory of Ireland—Thom's—there is found an abundance of material in favor of the same line of thought. The lists of landowners, magistrates, Protestant clergymen, and veterinary surgeons make poor account of distinctively Irish names. In the manufacturing districts of the country the paucity of Irish names is remarkable. From one end of the island to the other the great industries, with few exceptions, are operated by men whose names are not Irish.

The sprinkling of Irish names is large in the medical list. When the pages devoted to the Roman Catholic Church are examined the Celt comes into greater prominence. Most of the bishops have Celtic names. In the ranks of the clergy the Macs and the O's are numerous, but there are many names that would not be out of place in the English Church directory, *e. g.*, Curoe, Knaresboro, Warren, Watterson, Rogers, Pye, Hanna, Russell, Lee, Dawson, Barton, Hope, Everard, Wheeler, Harold, Wyer, Hayden, Grey, Gray, Jones.

English is the language of the country. It is taught in the public schools, and, with rare exceptions, exclusively spoken in the homes. Very few of the Roman Catholic clergymen in English-speaking Ireland are capable of preaching in the mother tongue, and even if they were, fewer still would be able to understand them. Within fifty years a great change has taken place in regard to the Irish language. Protestants and Catholics formerly knew something of it. At the popular watering places along the southwest coast, the children prattled in Irish and Irish was the language

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of the army of donkey-boys and bathing-box women. Now the donkeys are cudgeled by boys who use the English language and the younger bathing-box women are recognized for natives by the sweetness and softness of the "brogue."

In some of the remoter rural districts of Connaught, Munster, and Ulster, Irish is still spoken, but in the commercial and manufacturing centres it is virtually a dead language.

The leverage won by the late C. S. Parnell induced the English government (Conservative) to build some light railways through the Irish-speaking counties and these will prove potent Anglicizing agencies. An effort is made through a central society in Dublin to promote a love for the old tongue, but the results thus far do not indicate much of a success. The Christian Brothers, a worthy body of Roman Catholic educators, have taken the matter in hand also. Irish manuscripts of priceless value are safeguarded by Trinity College and the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin. Outside the narrow circle of the antiquary they do not excite much interest. The descendants of men who were established in Ireland at the point of the sword find no attraction in documents that relate to a period of the country's history when it it had no connection with England. It matters little to them that a greater number and variety of antique golden articles of remote age have been found in Ireland than in any other part of Northern Europe, or that the majority of the gold antiquities, illustrative of British history, now preserved in the British Museum, are Irish.

Many schemes have been favored by the British government for the repeopling of Ireland. Colonies composed of German and French Protestants received special inducements, and the doors were thrown wide open to the English, Scotch, and Welsh farmers to settle upon the richest valley lands. It is due to this policy that the most fertile and prosperous parts of Ireland are occupied exclusively by English-speaking people.

After emigration became general the natives poured out in a continual stream to the United States, Canada, Australia, and to England, Scotland, and Wales. For a century Ireland has been growing in attraction as a field for settlement by natives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. In the midst of the outcry against English injustice new blood has been flowing into the country from many lands. This tide has been most remarkable during the two famine periods since 1841. According to the census of that year there were in Ireland 23,861 persons who had been born elsewhere. Of this number 14,684 were natives of England and Wales, 5,848 of Scotland, and 3,329 foreigners of different nationalities.

The census of 1891 shows an increase of nearly 47,000 in the total number of persons born out of Ireland. The number of natives of England and Wales had increased to nearly 50,000, of Scotland to over 6,000, and of foreigners of different nationalities to nearly 15,000. In sifting the information from the census one finds that Dublin county and city received nearly 6,000 more than Antrim of the settlers from England and Wales, 688 more from Scotland, and 1,339 more foreigners. Judging from the reputation of Belfast, this will be a surprise to those who have been accustomed to think that the northern capital contains the only loadstone in Ireland. The County of Cork followed closely on Dublin, and the County of Kildare closely on Cork. All three have drawn a larger number of new settlers than Antrim. The shares of the rest of the counties were very much alike. Fifty thousand of an increase in the "outlander" population would mean almost nothing in the

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United States, but in the little bit of territory which includes the English-speaking portion of Ireland it meant a great deal. The Jewish population has largely increased also. This must be regarded as a sign of prosperity, for as a rule Jews of mercurial temperament don't change from one country to another for climatic reasons.

The English-speaking people of Ireland, friendly to England, have scored heavily on the side of intelligence. They are Irish by reason of birth, as the descendants of the English in the United States are Americans. From them have come some of the most eminent poets, essayists, historians, novelists, orators, lawyers, astronomers, explorers, preachers, soldiers, and sailors that the world has ever known.

Among poets, essayists, historians, and novelists, Swift, Goldsmith, Sterne, Burke, Moore, Berkeley, Lecky, Bryce, Charlotte Bronte, Maria Edgeworth: among dramatists, Sheridan, Knowles, Boucicault: among musical composers, Balfe, Wallace: among men of science, Thomson (Lord Kelvin), Tyndall: among astronomers, Lord Rosse, Sir Robert Ball: among Arctic explorers, Maclure, McClintock: among lawyers, Whiteside, Fitzgerald, Cairns, Russell: among soldiers, the Duke of Wellington, conqueror of Napoleon; Viscount Beresford, Lord Gough, Lord Wolseley, Lord Roberts.

In the long roll of diplomats the most distinguished for a century have been men of Irish birth and British lineage, including the Marquis of Dufferin.

At this moment the Inspector-General of the Navy, the ablest generals in the service of England—Lord Roberts, Lord Wolseley, Commander-in-Chief of the Army—and Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, are Anglo-Irish.

An interesting fact in connection with the recent "Irish Race Convention" at Dublin was that among the delegates there were 151 who could not be identified with Ireland by reason of their names.

Moses Cornwall, Irish born, representing a section of his countrymen resident in South Africa, was a prominent figure. Without an explanation no one would have thought of him as Irish, no more than they would of identifying with the Green Isle Delegates Buist, Silk, Dobie, Ruane, Bulhert, Rockett, Bonfield, Engledow, Marel, Millard, Charrelton, Verling, Beechinore, Torish, Lundon, Nanetti, Callachor, and Capstick.

One of the mistakes made by Irishmen who are in the fight against England is in supposing that the drain on the Celtic population would be stopped if legislative independence were granted.

With a greater number of Celtic Irishmen out of Ireland than in Ireland, the tendency must ever be to draw the flower of each generation to other lands. It would be a heart-breaking termination of the struggle of the agitators if the Home Rule flag should float at last over a thoroughly Anglicized Ireland.

GEORGE HENRY BASSETT.

WOMEN AS CENTENARIANS.

WHAT will surprise most of those who investigate the subject of long life for the first time is the statement that women exceed men to such a great extent. A group of people cited by one of the most careful and least credulous of the numerous English authors of works on the subject, shows that out of 66 persons who were a hundred years old and upwards, there

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were 43 women to 23 men. A census of centenarians taken in France in 1895 gives 213 persons of 100 years and over, of whom 147 were women and 66 men. The oldest was a woman who had just died at 150 in a village of the department of Haute Garonne. Nearly all of the centenarians belonged to the lowest ranks of life. In London, the census of 1891 shows 21 centenarians, 5 men to 16 women. Our census of 1890 gives 3,981 persons of 100 years of age, or over, of whom 1,398 were men and 2,583 women. Of course the disproportion is not always so great as this, but it seems to be a well-established fact that woman has the preference in the race for longevity. Though more boys are born in all countries than girls it is more difficult to rear them. In the diseases of infancy and early life females appear to have an inherent vitality and the number of deaths of boys is greater, even then, than the mortality among girl children. Weaker sex, as the men are fond of characterizing them, they excel us in enduring qualities and what is commonly spoken of as "toughness." Some physicians think that the greater mortality among boys may be owing to the larger size of their heads, and the more prolonged pressure undergone during birth. There is said to be also less wear and tear of the smaller machinery of the frame with women than there is with men. From this some might expect that small people of both sexes would succeed in living longer than large ones. But this does not seem to be the case. It is noted as a rather curious fact, which is shown by official reports, that the rate of the pulse and of respiration is quicker also in the weaker sex.

Men and women are bound to die some time. That is conceded; but if one finds this world pleasant by reason of living a life of temperance in food as well as drink, the blood is preserved in good condition and the body lasts longer. Blood vessels are apt to take the lead in the slow inevitable failure as the years pass, induced by the morbid condition of the blood bringing on loss of, or lowered, vitality with sure predisposition to various forms of disease. With almost everything in their favor the rich seem to stand at the same disadvantage in regard to longevity as they do, according to the gospel, in their efforts to enter the kingdom of heaven. Nearly all the centenarians were poor, and if they did not have as good a time in this world they stayed longer in it. Modern physicians appear to think that science, or the skill of their profession, has had a decided tendency to prolong life. Not that they have exactly succeeded in proving this claim, but as they are much given to blowing their own trumpets and beating their big drums on the strength of it, we may for the present admit it. Dentists say that the reason people's teeth do not last so long as other parts of the body is that modern skill has extended life so much longer than it was ever intended to last that the teeth cannot keep up with the demands made upon them. In other words, man, in the natural state, does not live so long as civilized man.

Again, to return to our centenarians of the female sex. It is said that the very nature of their occupations protects them by keeping them so much in the house, where they are shielded from adverse influences of atmospheric changes, accidental causes of death—to which so many men are subject—and the perils of certain manly pursuits and pleasures. Soldiers, sailors, miners, engineers, and persons engaged in similar occupations are all men. But then, do not all reports of the habits of centenarians and the tables of statistics prove that out-of-door exercise is one of the best means of preserving health. Statistical tables may sometimes prove too much. However, there is no record of any modern woman living to such extreme age as "Old

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Parr"—153 years. Though the number of women who live to a century or a little more is undoubtedly greater than that of men, yet the men in the few cases have gone to a higher figure. And so we shall have to leave the question. There are more women that live long, but they cannot go to the highest points.

Pressure on the stomach and liver is not the only evil of the corset system, for the lungs and heart have to suffer also. Careful measurements made of Indian girls, who had lived a life of nature, prove that they breathe not from the upper part of the lungs almost entirely, as modern young women do, but just like young men and boys. The bodies of these young women were born just like those of the Indian girls, but the lacing and compressing waist system began at so early an age that the utmost effort of nature to start the girl of civilized life on a parity with the girl of nature has been carefully defeated. In a state of nature a woman has a child and is out, sometimes the same day, or at any rate the next one, just as if she had had a slight cold. Motherhood is painless. The civilized girl is prostrated for weeks. If she is not often a physical wreck for life, she is an exception. And then come the soured temper, bad digestion, fretfulness, and generally miserable domestic life which make the weary husband wish that he had never, never thought of marriage. When it becomes the Paris fashion to have waists like the Venus of Milo, then our girls will wear them—not before. Writers on the subject and talkers also may just as well save time and let the poor things torture themselves in their own way. Better study longevity, gentlemen, and not waste time by letting your thoughts run on waists.

As to the question of marriage, the Registrar-General for Scotland published some tables of statistics in 1867 to prove that married men live longer than the unmarried. Scientific critics in England and other countries, however, have questioned the accuracy of these tables, not holding that they were deliberately and of intention false, but that the experiment was not conducted on fair or just principles. These contestants may have been bachelors of centenarian proclivities, and having a reputation to sustain, they would naturally examine a married man's tables with close and scrutinizing suspicion. For, say the opponents of this theory, if a man lives longer by reason of marrying one wife, could not he then double his age or his chances of longevity by marrying two? Perhaps wives are to be taken, however, like those of Henry VIII. of England, only one at a time, though he had six and then did not live to be a centenarian. The easons given by old people for their long length of years are often seemingly absurd. *The Scientific American* of December 16, 1893, had an account of Miss Eliza Work, of Henrietta, N. Y., who was within six weeks of being 100 years old. "The reason I have lived so long is that I have never drunk tea nor coffee, and, above all, *never got married*, and I have always been hearty and healthy, too." At the age of 91 she travelled alone to her native place in Vermont. She has always been a hard worker, never had occasion to use glasses, and her teeth are of original growth. Her brother lived, she stated, to be 101, and she thought he would have lived much longer if he had never married. He drank tea and coffee, too. People who drink such things, Miss Work thought, and then aggravate the case by getting married, ought not to expect to live long. And yet Miss Work, being herself a centenarian, knows, perhaps, almost as much about the case as physicians.

WILLIAM KINNEAR.

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OBSTACLES TO BUSINESS METHODS IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

GENERALLY speaking, we have bad city government in America, and we agree that business methods should prevail in its administration. The question then arises, what obstacles stand in the way of applying business methods to our municipal affairs. Briefly stated, the answer is: 1. American commercialism; 2. The spirit of partisanhip; 3. The misplacement of emphasis since the outbreak of the Civil War; 4. An erroneous political perspective; 5. Executive legislation; 6. Want of local autonomy.

I. Under the head of commercialism, a number of influences of various kinds have to be considered.

1. Commercialism, or undue absorption in private business or an undue desire to accumulate wealth, has been the distinguishing characteristic of the average American during the present century, and especially since the Civil War. It is the one feature more frequently referred to and more generally commented upon by foreign observers than any other. It is no doubt true that the rapid development of our country and its unparalleled growth in wealth and numbers have absorbed the energies of our people; and now that we have passed the stage of expansion, and entered another, which should be one of cultivation, we seem unable to leave off the habit formed largely under the spur of necessity, and which was undoubtedly essential to recovery from the evil effects of internal dissension.

Commercialism has led to the absorption of the best business talent in every community in private business affairs, mainly because the legitimate rewards are larger, and because there is a permanency of tenure not to be found in public affairs.

The returns in mercantile, manufacturing, and professional pursuits have been much larger than the honest returns to those holding equally responsible official positions in our cities. I admit there is a certain honor attached to public office; and that there should be a certain amount of self-sacrifice for the public welfare; but we may not always be able to afford such honors or make such sacrifices. So long as the returns from the same amount of application in public business are so disproportionate to those received from private business, we shall find the latter absorbing the best administrative and executive talent to the manifest detriment of the former.

Then, again, a young man starting out in private business knows that, with diligent attention to details and close application, he will be enabled to improve his position and his emoluments. The results of his efforts will be in a direct ratio to the energy expended. Let the same young man enter the public service and his tenure of office will not depend on capacity or application; but, in nine cases out of ten, upon his usefulness to a political leader or organization. When this ends, his tenure ends. He can retain his place only by subserviency—a course that must always prove distasteful to the conscientious young man. Is it any wonder, therefore, that private affairs irresistibly attract young men? Is it any wonder that we find the public service in many cities filled with men who cannot make a livelihood elsewhere, and who resort to public patronage when all other resources fail? Commercialism robs the public services of its best men and leaves it almost bare; a wrong political system steps in and deprives what little there is left of its value.

2. Commercialism leads not only to the absorption of business talent in private affairs, but also to the diversion of the constructive talents of the

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community into the same channels. There is no denying the great constructive abilities of the Anglo-Saxon. In former times they were utilized in building up the state and nation and perfecting great governmental schemes; but of late years there has been little if any progress along governmental lines at all in keeping with the immense strides we have taken along commercial and manufacturing lines. The creation of great factories and great trusts and business concerns; the inventiveness displayed in mechanical and electrical trades seem to have exhausted the constructive genius of the country. Here the question of returns comes in again. The same amount of skill and ability displayed in public affairs will not bring a tithe of the return that an equal amount exerted in private business would. I am not now taking into consideration anything but legitimate returns, for the dishonest men can perhaps make more out of public office than in private business. I am considering only the honest rewards to be had in both services. As a result of this tendency, we have the rather curious condition of great advance in business, an advance that has placed us at the head of the commercial world; while in municipal methods we are a generation or so behind in our development.

3. Another result of commercialism is seen in the indifference of the average voter, who is generally so wrapped up in his business that he forgets to discharge his duties as a citizen. He reasons that the amount of time he would devote to political affairs if expended in private business will yield a return very much larger than the increased tax he will be subjected to by permitting incompetent men to run the city. In other words, he will pay higher taxes rather than devote good and valuable time to public business. It may be said in passing, however, that if every citizen would give but five hours a year to the consideration of public business; very great changes in present methods could be inaugurated. This would allow two hours (a generous allowance) for attendance on two primary and two general elections, and three hours for general conference, consideration, and attendance on one or two meetings.

4. Inasmuch as most if not all of our state and national taxation has been indirect, insignificant as compared with European taxes, due to the fact that we have no immense armies or navies or expensive royal families to support, voters have not as yet felt the full effect of high municipal taxation and extravagant and inefficient local government. The fact is that, after all that can be said against bad city government, the cost of maintaining it (at least from the financial view point) is comparatively small and bears but indirectly upon the average citizen. The business man is accustomed to sacrifice a small benefit in one direction to earn a larger one in another; and he carries this principle into his consideration of public affairs. He will agree that we have bad government and should have better; but he sacrifices the benefit that would accrue to him in this direction to gain a larger one in his private affairs.

5. The spirit of commercialism has also had another effect, of a somewhat different character, however, from those mentioned. Many who devote their brains and energies to the consummation of great undertakings have found that it is good business to conciliate and control the governing powers. Constantly seeking franchises and privileges, they have realized that a better bargain can be made when all the parties to it are of one opinion and on one side. Their policy has therefore been to make the interest of the granting powers identical with their own by taking them "in on the ground

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floor," or by paying them outright for favorable votes and influence. This has been very much more profitable than paying to the city the true value of such privileges and franchises.

II. Next to commercialism, the greatest obstacle is partisanship, or the prostitution of public office and public measures to party success. A party, as a means to an end, is all right and proper, but as an end in itself it is all wrong; and yet in the United States we have made party and party success the end to be attained. To accomplish this we have utilized the offices. They have served, not to promote the comfort, happiness, and well-being of the people primarily, but to pay off party debts and to strengthen the party's working force.

III. During the Civil War, and for many years after, the rallying cry in our politics was "Measures, not men!" a cry still heard and still effective. So grave were the issues before the public during and immediately after the war, that they fell in with the idea that measures were everything, and men of but subordinate importance. Always a mistaken and unwise policy, it is still more so now, when the issues are mainly business ones.

The conditions of American political life we have been discussing apply with considerable if not equal force to State and national, as well as to municipal, politics. Those which we shall refer to hereafter apply only to municipal affairs.

IV. For sundry reasons which need not be referred to in the present connection the American people have formed an erroneous conception of the importance and extent of municipal government. They have come to regard it as of subordinate importance and have awarded first place in their interest and attention to national and State issues. As a general rule, we find more space accorded to news concerning the latter than the former in the newspaper; and the average reader turns first to State and national news, leaving to the last, and more frequently entirely overlooking, the doings of municipal officers and bodies. The same tendency is to be seen in the interest manifested in elections. At the quadrennial presidential elections the greatest excitement prevails; the issues are widely and earnestly discussed and the merits of candidates canvassed. The vote polled is larger than at other elections and many vote only at such elections. Gubernatorial campaigns arouse but little less interest and bring out but a slightly smaller vote. When we come to municipal elections, however, the vote falls off to a marked degree, and apathy prevails, unless some issue accidentally introduced creates a temporary interest; or the election can be construed to have an important bearing on national or State elections.

V. Most if not all of our American cities fail to endow their executive officers with sufficient power to secure a well-rounded, continuous business-like conduct of municipal affairs. They permit the local legislatures to interfere to too great an extent in the conduct of purely executive business, with the result of preventing the officers in charge carrying out any plan involving careful preparation and slow execution.

VI. Want of local autonomy is simply the operation on a large scale of the obstacle just mentioned. Not only have we erred in our general plan of municipal government by modelling it to too great an extent on our federal government, with elaborate checks and balances, a bicameral system, and so on, but also in permitting our State legislature to have too much to say as to municipal affairs.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

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